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The Shape of Things

REPRESENTATIVE FRANK HOOK OF MICHIGAN has already made public most of the material contained in the article by James Wechsler which appears elsewhere in this issue. We do not begrudge Mr. Hook the scoop. As we go to press he is fighting to head off the renewed appropriation for the Dies committee, and the exposure is timely. For almost two years Dies has been spending taxpayers' money to track down "un-American activities." He has discovered atheism in the New Deal, the hand of Moscow in the C. I. O., and the finger of Berlin in the German-American Bund. At the same time he has found it possible to hobnob with Merwin K. Hart, whose unsavory connections are set forth in the Wechsler article, and to exhort meetings indorsed and packed by Christian Fronters. To what should be his acute embarrassment, it now emerges that Hart is a close collaborator of the Front and that the Front itself is the center of a plot to destroy the "American way" so prominent in the rantings of Mr. Dies—and to do it through violence and terror. His contention that it was through his probing that the Department of Justice was put on the trail of the Christian Front is feeble to the point of fatuousness. If he knew of the Front's "un-American activities," what was he waiting for? Was it that Mr. Dies wanted to shun publicity? Or was he touched by the "Martin Dies for President" campaign in Father Coughlin's *Social Justice?*

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IF LOW COMPANY PROVES THE UNDOING OF Mr. Dies, his position is comfort itself compared with Coughlin's. The priest's wriggling and squirming since seventeen of his men were picked up for conspiracy have been unholy, to say the least. Panicky at first, he told the press that he "had roundly disavowed" the specific Christian Front whose members were under arrest, had branded them fakers, and had refused a money contribution from them. In truth, he had repeatedly extolled John F. Cassidy, one of the ringleaders of the group, and the money he had spurned came not from these men but from a rival gang, the Christian Mobilizers. But in this case the lie was dangerous. Hit-and-run tactics and so crass a betrayal of his followers might ruin his organization. Coughlin reconsidered and emerged with as oily a performance as ever dripped from his microphone. He called himself "a friend of the accused," and dwelt fondly on their pure family life, their "Christian" background, their Irish names. Although he admitted no connection with "any unit of the Christian Front," he considered himself in a position to refute the statements of the Justice Department agents concerning the haul of munitions. The Springfield rifles turned out to be innocent sport guns or antiquated heirlooms handed down to these Christian young men by their Revolutionary or Civil War ancestors, and the home-made bombs were tin cans used for "photographic" experiments. The Catholic *Tablet* speaks of the prisoners as "seemingly poor, unfortunate victims of their own excessive patriotism" and calls them "misguided." Who misguided them? The Catholic *Commonweal* provides the answer: "Father Coughlin, the *Tablet, Social Justice,* and their many abettors and sympathizers must bear the direct responsibility for the plight of these seventeen young men."

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MR. CHURCHILL'S ADVICE TO THE NEUTRAL states of Europe to align themselves with the Allies has not been well received by those to whom it was addressed. Public opinion in most of these countries is in substantial agreement with the main theme of his speech —that their hopes of future independence are bound up with an Allied victory. The small neutrals are aware, too, of the danger that they may be forced into the war one by one as the exigencies of German strategy dictate. Each, by itself, is comparatively weak, but if they acted as a unit they would bring overwhelming strength to the Allies and write finis to the Hitler plans of domination which are a menace to them all. But at this stage in the war there seems little chance of any such development, and for this Britain and France are themselves largely to blame. Had they given Europe real leadership in the organization of collective security, neutrals would not now be cowering in their storm cellars praying that by some miracle the whirlwind will pass them by.

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THE RELUCTANCE OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY to go openly to the aid of Finland is clearly connected with their fears that the result would be an attack by Germany and the merging of Europe's two wars. At the

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same time they are not prepared to leave the Finns altogether in the lurch and are therefore employing the "non-intervention" technique. As a result a comparatively large number of volunteers are finding their way to the Finnish front, and despite Russian protests, Norway and Sweden are continuing to send supplies of their own as well as permitting the transit of armaments made available by the Allies. Whether more active measures should be taken appears to be a question on which public opinion is acutely divided, particularly in Sweden, where former Foreign Minister Sandler has spoken strongly in favor of the dispatch of troops to assist in the defense of the Aaland Islands, and of definite military collaboration between the Scandinavian countries. Meanwhile, military operations in Finland appear to have been slowed down by the weather. The Soviet air force, however, remains extremely active and is making a special effort to smash the port of Abo, which is Finland's chief link with Sweden. Continual raids on this and other cities underline Finnish appeals for more material aid from the outside world, and particularly for fighting planes.

*

HOWEVER GREAT FINLAND'S NEEDS MAY BE, its prospects of obtaining financial assistance in this country for the purpose of buying arms have been seriously dimmed. The first flush of indignation at Russian aggression and of enthusiasm for Finnish courage has given place to an acute attack of isolationism. The President's letter to Vice-President Garner and Mr. Bankhead on the subject of loans to Finland was extremely cautious. He suggested merely an increase in the funds of the Export-Import Bank so as to make possible credits for the purchase of agricultural surpluses and industrial goods, excluding implements of war. Everybody knows that Finland's urgent needs are not for food, but it has been hinted that it would be possible for it to resell the goods obtained and use the cash to buy arms elsewhere. Whether so devious a method will appeal to Congress is still uncertain. A number of Senators have made known their opposition to any loans to Finland. Since nobody suggests that Russia will declare war on us, even if we supply Finland with arms, this Congressional hesitation must be ascribed to the belief that the war between Russia and Finland cannot long be separated from the war between Germany and the Allies. Hence the fear that commitments to Finland will lead to commitments to the Allies. But if Finland is crushed and the Russian army sweeps on into Scandinavia, the danger of our involvement will surely be greater.

*

BRITAIN'S BLOCKADE AND OTHER MEASURES of economic warfare are proving inconvenient and irritating to this country just as they did from 1914 to 1917. Some weeks ago Mr. Hull protested against the forcing of American ships into control ports, and so into zones forbidden them under the Neutrality Act. Now an even stronger protest has been made, charging discrimination against American vessels at Gibraltar and demanding that the situation be corrected. Meanwhile a new controversy has been started by British assertions of the right to detain and examine mails carried on American and other neutral vessels. In a note dated December 27 the State Department pointed out that it considered this procedure contrary to Article I of Hague Convention No. 11, which declares: "Postal correspondence of neutrals and belligerents, whatever its official or private character may be, found on the high seas aboard neutral or enemy ships is inviolable." Britain's note in reply insists that this immunity does not cover parcels and applies only to "genuine postal correspondence." It therefore claims the right to examine all mail to make sure that it is "genuine" and does not contain contraband such as securities, money, or industrial diamonds. This reasoning seems to us to conform with the letter rather than the spirit of the convention. In any case the British government is foolish to attempt to make the blockade absolute at the cost of antagonizing American opinion.

*

WASHINGTON REPORTS INDICATE THAT NO immediate action will be taken against Japanese trade with the expiration of the trade treaty on January 26. In an effort to conciliate American opinion at this critical stage of its East Asia policy, Japan has announced that there will be no discrimination against imports from the United States unless this country takes steps against Japanese trade. The State Department has allowed word to go out that it will take no action as long as negotiations are under way. Senator Pittman, on the other hand, has pointed out that there could be no agreement based on equal rights as long as Japan continued its "New Order in East Asia" policies. Although there has been a flood of inspired articles from Tokyo recently indicating a more conciliatory attitude toward the United States on the part of the new Yonai government, there has been no suggestion of a change in Japan's basic China policies. The opening of the Yangtze, as Senator Pittman points out, is but a minor aspect of the situation. All trade in the occupied sections of China is under the control of Japanese agencies; all regulations, duties, and laws governing this trade are, for all practical purposes, made in Tokyo. For the moment, however, circumstances have played into the hands of the United States. The European war leaves Japan more dependent than ever on American economic assistance. The long-term interests of American trade, as well as the immediate interests of the Chinese people, can still be salvaged by prompt action along the lines outlined in last week's issue of *The Nation*.

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IN TURNING BACK A JAPANESE OFFENSIVE north of Canton, the Chinese have scored a victory which, from preliminary accounts, appears even more significant than that won at Changsha three months ago. The Japanese followed up their initial successes too rapidly, with the result that they were attacked simultaneously on both flanks as well as in front, suffering a severe defeat. Their advance had taken them as far as Yingtak, an important railway center eighty miles north of Canton, but the Chinese counter-attack has forced them back a full fifty miles and placed them in a more vulnerable position than when the offensive started. This rather startling setback, coupled with notable Chinese victories in northern Hupeh and southeastern Shansi may serve as a further obstacle to the early establishment of the Wang Ching-wei puppet government. Equally embarrassing, from the Japanese point of view, has been the publication in the Hongkong *Ta Kung Pao* of the purported terms of the agreement between Wang Ching-wei and Japan as furnished by two of Wang's most important aides. The terms go far beyond the notorious Twenty-One Demands in reducing China to a condition of vassalage to Japan.

William E. Borah

SENATOR BORAH was intellectually the ablest man in the Congress of the United States, with a reputation which reached to the Europe he always refused to visit, although he was for years chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. Yet he was a contradiction, an enigma, a mystery that no journalistic observer of his thirty-three years of service was ever able to explain adequately. Within party lines he was fearless and independent, often espousing unpopular causes to which the leaders of his party were opposed. He did not hesitate to demand the release of political prisoners when the war madness was still at its height. He was ever ready to uphold civil rights, and he was the foe of corrupt big business and monopoly. Yet he could not support such human and humane legislative proposals as woman suffrage, the abolition of child labor, and the pending anti-lynching bill because he felt that they jeopardized states' rights, even though the two former were legally added to the Constitution. His attitude toward that document was almost like the worship of a fetish.

Despite this long record of independence Senator Borah could never bring himself to cut loose from his party ties except in 1896, when he plumped for Free Silver. He ardently desired the election of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912, yet he would not become a Progressive. His whole heart was with Senator La Follette when the latter ran independently for President in 1924, but he would not speak out for him, although he had begged and received from his Wisconsin colleague a letter of indorsement for his own candidacy. Often it seemed as if his interest in an issue waned when it disappeared from the front pages. Still he was no publicity seeker. He could have made large sums of money by lecturing throughout the country, but he deliberately sought to restrict his utterances to the floor of the Senate so that they might carry the more weight there, and when he spoke the seats were filled and the galleries too. He had statesmanship, and his leadership of the fight against the United States' putting its name to the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles was of the highest order. Yet it is not too much to say that Borah made Harding and Coolidge possible. After saying that Coolidge was unfit to be President he became his supporter and for a time cooperator; after having said that Hoover was unfit to expend $100,000,000 in behalf of the Russians he declared that Hoover was the best-fitted man in the United States to be President. When questioned concerning this inconsistency he declined to answer.

Borah was a speaker whose words never failed to carry weight. One instinctively felt that he was one of the last links with the period in which there were intellectual giants in the Senate. Certainly no American ever served his state, his country, and his people more faithfully and more loyally. His bitterest opponents recognized his devotion to duty, his rugged adherence to principle, his freedom from any improper control or motive whatsoever. Yet he could not bring himself to take the leadership of the progressive forces in the United States which could have been his for the asking. That is the tragedy of Senator Borah's life—and not merely the fact that he failed to enter the White House, as he could have. In view of the completeness with which he spent his powers in his Senatorial duties, it seems paradoxical to say that he nevertheless denied the fulness of those powers to his countrymen, and yet the paradox is fact.

Is Mediation Possible?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

ON HIS regular page this week Oswald Garrison Villard makes as good a case as can be made for an immediate peace in Europe. He tells what he would do if he were Mr. Roosevelt. He would, he says, offer mediation every day in the week. And he would invite the Pope to join him in asking the European neutrals to demand that the belligerents state their peace terms. He believes that one more effort should be made to bring Hitler and the Allies together. "The alternative," he says, "is a knockout blow inflicted by one side or the other, or a stalemate with all Europe going to pieces from economic and financial exhaustion."

In every country pacifists like Mr. Villard cling to the desperate hope that somehow the war may be ended be-

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fore it begins in bitter earnest. They share his conviction that any peace is better than war; that no evil was ever cured by the greater evil of mass destruction; and that, in the particular issue of the present struggle, Germany "can no more be cleansed of Hitlerism and National Socialism by forces from the outside than it was purged of militarism by the Allies and the United States in 1918."

It is impossible not to sympathize with this position even when one dissents from it. It carries all the appeal of decency and some of the appeal of reason. Certainly victory over Hitler is not enough; it is only the beginning of peace. And peace will not grow out of victory. It will have to be fought for on an even wider front, and in the post-war struggle for peace the United States will have to be counted among the leading combatants. But in my opinion, the defeat of Hitler is a prerequisite to the fight for peace; and I cannot help wondering, after reading Mr. Villard's impressive plea, just how he visualizes the process of bringing the war to an early end.

Let us suppose that Mr. Villard is the President of the United States and can follow his own advice. He offers mediation, publicly, to all the belligerents. The Allies, for obvious reasons, delay their reply. If they reject the offer out of hand they lay themselves open to an effective attack by pacifist and pro-appeasement forces. If they accept—but they cannot possibly accept unless it is understood in advance that the war shall go on while mediation is under way. And they cannot accept on any condition without abandoning their one clearly enunciated war aim—the "end of Hitlerism." In any case they will do well to think the proposal over for a few days. Because clearly the President has maneuvered them into an uncomfortably hot spot.

Meanwhile Hitler is laboring under no such difficulties. He has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a prompt acceptance. He becomes again the man of peace in the eyes of his people, and he thrusts upon the Allies the responsibility for keeping the war going if they refuse. Hitler accepts and asks for an immediate armistice. He points out, quite plausibly, that it is impossible to discuss peace while ships are being sunk and guns roaring. He offers to ground his planes and call home his submarines, provided the British and French simultaneously lift the blockade. This is a reasonable demand from every point of view except that of licking Hitler. It is a demand that a neutral mediator will find it hard to refuse.

But if the Allies are still hesitating, this demand will resolve their doubts. They cannot lift the blockade. To do so would be to surrender all the strategic advantages they have won or hope to win. With the blockade lifted and the processes of mediation under way, Hitler can import and store up oil and iron and foodstuffs, he can shunt populations from place to place and crush internal resistance, he can turn Poland and the Protectorate into true German lands and mend his fences in the Balkans.

For Hitler delay is all to the good—as long as the blockade is lifted. For the Allies delay is fatal—unless the blockade is continued. So Britain and France are cast in a thoroughly unsympathetic role. They accept mediation grudgingly if at all, and insist upon their right to continue seizing their enemy's ships and strangling his economic life. Hitler makes no conditions. He asks only an end to the struggle while peace is being discussed.

If I were President of the United States I would hesitate to offer these easy advantages to Hitler. I would not give him the chance to pose before the world as a generous, decent, peace-loving fellow. I would not make it possible for him to demand a breathing-spell in which to prepare for the next round of his battle. I would keep in mind the unspeakable fate of those parts of Europe that have already fallen into his hands, and I would in no way impede the belated efforts of the French and British to prevent the westward spread of Nazi dynamism.

If I were President I would offer no mediation as long as Hitler remained in power.

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The Christian Front and Martin Dies

BY JAMES WECHSLER

WHEN the FBI exposed the Christian Front's terrorist conspiracy, it also shattered Martin Dies's conspiracy of silence. After the arrests government officials said they had merely "scratched the surface" of the intrigue. That was an overstatement. For investigation into the origins and growth of the Christian Front leads not only to the seventeen who plotted violence but to the priest whose sermons inspired them. It leads not only to shabby tenements in Brooklyn but to ornate homes on Park Avenue. And from these Park Avenue residences of the Front's "fellow-travelers" it leads to the doorstep of Martin Dies.

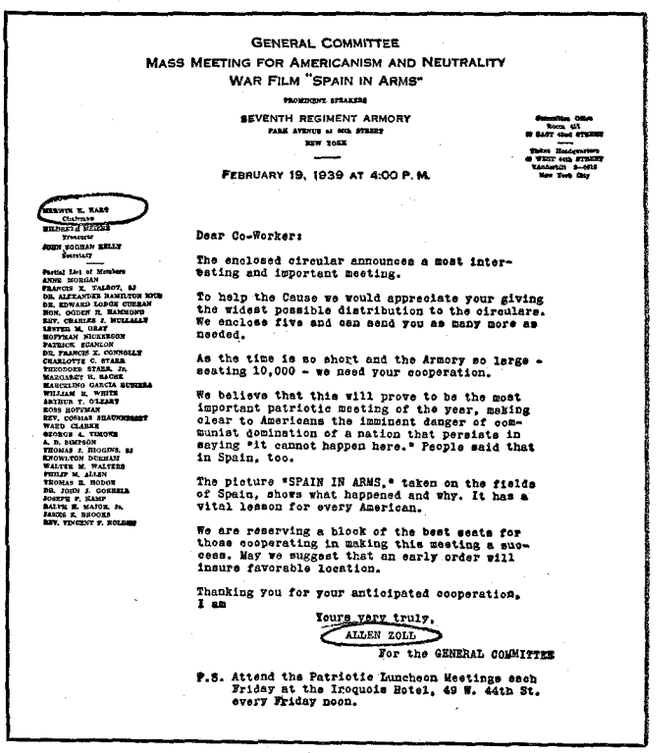
The interlocking relationships are largely a matter of record. They are corroborated by material in the record of the Dies committee itself and supplemented by correspondence that has just been revealed. Pieced together, the exhibits show that while Martin Dies was chairman of the Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, he was collaborating with men who were the "respectable" periphery of the Christian Front. The exhibits may also show that while Dies hounded the left, he deliberately granted immunity to the right.

The story is chiefly about the relations of two men—Merwin K. Hart and Martin Dies. But there are a number of other names—names like Allen Zoll, John E. Kelly, James True, John Trevor, and William Dudley Pelley—which help to illuminate the record.

On December 8, 1938, Dies was the guest speaker at a luncheon in New York officially sponsored by the New York State Economic Council, whose president is Merwin K. Hart. While the council's perennial mission is to combat social legislation, Hart's activities and connections are a good deal more varied. At this luncheon Fritz Kuhn and James Wheeler-Hill, secretary of the Bund, were guests, and their names appeared on the advance list. When a *Times* reporter asked Wheeler-Hill the significance of their presence, he replied: "We have many friends on the council." During the luncheon members of the Christian Front distributed leaflets announcing a mass-meeting of their own. Reporters who covered the affair say that Dies could not have overlooked the Front's presence; he was practically surrounded. Hart presided.

Eight days later there was another luncheon. Dies wasn't present, but Hart was. The luncheon was ostensibly sponsored by the now defunct American Patriots, whose president was Allen Zoll. Zoll presided; and the fact is worth noting because Zoll's connections with both Hart and the Front are beyond dispute. Only the night before, he had appeared as a speaker at the Manhattan Opera House, on the same platform with John F. Cassidy, one of the Christian Front men just arrested by the FBI. On July 2, 1939, Zoll was arrested for trying to extort money from officials of station WMCA in return for calling off the Christian Front picket line. Other speakers at the American Patriots luncheon included General Van Horn Moseley and John E. Kelly, whose Christian Front link I shall cite later. The principal address was delivered by Merwin K. Hart.

If Dies was innocent of the facts concerning his host in December, 1938, he presumably knew better a month later, especially in view of the fact-finding facilities of



GENERAL COMMITTEE
MASS MEETING FOR AMERICANISM AND NEUTRALITY
WAR FILM "SPAIN IN ARMS"
PROMINENT SPEAKERS
SEVENTH REGIMENT ARMORY
PARK AVENUE at 66th STREET
NEW YORK

FEBRUARY 19, 1939 AT 4:00 P. M.

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Dear Co-Worker:

The enclosed circular announces a most interesting and important meeting.

To help the Cause we would appreciate your giving the widest possible distribution to the circulars. We enclose five and can send you as many more as needed.

As the time is so short and the Armory so large - seating 10,000 - we need your cooperation.

We believe that this will prove to be the most important patriotic meeting of the year, making clear to Americans the imminent danger of communist domination of a nation that persists in saying "it cannot happen here." People said that in Spain, too.

The picture "SPAIN IN ARMS," taken on the fields of Spain, shows what happened and why. It has a vital lesson for every American.

We are reserving a block of the best seats for those cooperating in making this meeting a success. May we suggest that an early order will insure favorable location.

Thanking you for your anticipated cooperation, I am

Yours very truly,
ALLEN ZOLL
For the GENERAL COMMITTEE

P.S. Attend the Patriotic Luncheon Meetings each Friday at the Iroquois Hotel, 49 W. 44th St. every Friday noon.

his committee. Yet on January 26, 1939, Dies and Hart once more performed a duet. On that day there was a meeting of the "American Coalition" at the Carleton Hotel in Washington. This is another thinly disguised wing of the anti-democratic machine; its promoter is John B. Trevor, millionaire patrioteer and a close associate of Hart's. One of the Coalition's chief sponsors is James True, notorious anti-Semitic pamphleteer. At the meeting there were two notable addresses. One was delivered by Martin Dies, the other by Merwin K. Hart.

Less than a month after this joint appearance with Dies, Hart reappeared, surrounded by familiar faces. This time he was running a mass-meeting at the Seventh

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Regiment Armory in New York. Officially it was called a "pro-American" meeting, as the accompanying photostats show. That was transparent window-dressing. In fact it was a pro-Franco demonstration; more important, it showed Hart again collaborating with the Christian Front. As the leaflet reproduced here shows, the Front was one of the chief agencies of ticket distribution for the meeting. The mimeographed letter, also reproduced here, indicates that Allen Zoll actively aided the sponsoring committee, of which Merwin K. Hart was chairman. Zoll issued an appeal for support of the meeting on the committee's stationary (see facsimile); and in the same letter it was stated that tickets were available at the Hotel Iroquois. That hotel was Zoll's and Kelly's headquarters. Another major figure in the committee's preparations was Bernard D'Arcy, agent for *Social Justice* in New York. On the same stationary and in the same vein D'Arcy wrote to his followers: "I am assisting the committee to make a big success of the mass-meeting described above." On February 5, 1939, D'Arcy and John F. Cassidy were jointly advertised as speakers at a Christian Front mass-meeting; on June 25, 1939, at another Christian Front meeting, D'Arcy delivered a eulogy of Cassidy.

The armory mass-meeting was Hart's show. His chief aides were Zoll, D'Arcy, and John E. Kelly; and the "mass base" of the meeting was the Christian Front.

Great Pro-American MASS MEETING

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 19, at 4 P. M.

SEVENTH REGIMENT ARMORY
PARK AVENUE AND 66th STREET, NEW YORK

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR
PRESERVE NEUTRALITY
COMBAT COMMUNISM

Three Brilliant Speakers

HON. OGDEN H. HAMMOND, former U. S. Ambassador to Spain
DR. ALEXANDER HAMILTON RICE
DR. JOSEPH F. THORNING, Chairman of Mt. St. Mary's College

ALSO FIRST SHOWING IN NEW YORK

The most exciting war pictures ever filmed, "Spain in Arms"—made in Spain, not Hollywood. Actual pictures taken at the front—three camera men were killed in action. Part of the films were captured by General Franco from the Loyalists.

COME

This will probably be the largest and the most interesting patriotic meeting held in New York since the World War. Come without fail and bring your friends.

If you can sell tickets, come and get them at the Hotel Iroquois, 59 West 44th Street, New York. Tickets also available from:

GEO. E. McCORMACK, 815 Elton Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.
THE TABLET, 1 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
THE CHRISTIAN FRONT, Manhattan
PETER MALLON, Catholic Action Group, Bronx, N. Y.

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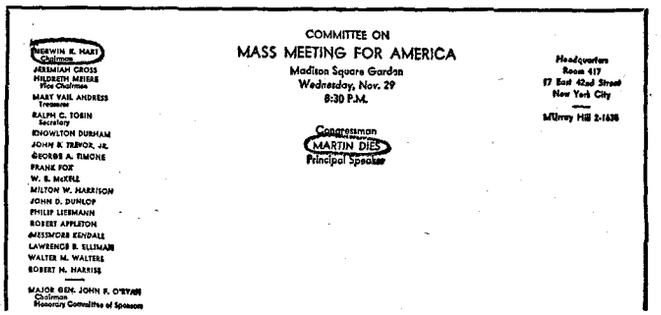
AND OTHERS

General Admission, 25c — Reserved 40c — Special Reserved, $1.10

Special seats were reserved for Christian Front members who arrived late because they had been out picketing. When they entered, carrying Coughlin's picture aloft, "the speaker was drowned out by applause," according to the New York *Times*. Prominently listed on Hart's sponsoring committee for the affair were Edward Lodge Curran, who has frequently appeared on Christian Front



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COMMITTEE ON
MASS MEETING FOR AMERICA
Madison Square Garden
Wednesday, Nov. 29
8:30 P.M.

Congressman
MARTIN DIES
Principal Speaker

Headquarters
Room 417
17 East 42nd Street
New York City
MUrray Hill 2-1638

platforms, and Patrick Scanlan, who has made similar appearances and whose paper, the Catholic *Tablet,* is a virtual house-organ for the Front. Inside the armory only Coughlinite literature was sold. Merwin K. Hart presided at the meeting.

On the stationary of the committee promoting the meeting, you will note that John E. Kelly is listed as secretary, under Hart. Kelly's work for Hart was not confined to this venture. Actually the mass-meeting was run by the same men who controlled the American Union for Nationalist Spain—chief pro-Franco propaganda agency in the United States. The president of Franco's union was Merwin K. Hart. The secretary was John E. Kelly. And Kelly also figures in the Christian Front network. He was especially prominent at a meeting held at the Great Northern Hotel on May 24, 1939. Jointly sponsored by the Christian Front and Zoll's "American Patriots," this meeting was an anti-Semitic orgy according to newspaper accounts. Zoll gave one of the main addresses; Kelly, Hart's Man Friday, gave the other.

Numerous other case histories of meetings and manifestos could be cited, dramatizing the collaboration between Dies, the well-dressed sympathizers with the Front, and the rowdy Front members themselves. There is, for example, the case of Robert Appleton. Appleton appears on several of Hart's committees; he is closely identified with Hart, Trevor and company. He is also the man, said the New York *Post* on November 30, who provided free office space for Joe McWilliams, formerly a key figure in the Christian Front and now leader of the Christian Mobilizers. On December 4, 1938, Dies appeared as the guest speaker at a luncheon sponsored by the American Defense Society. Robert Appleton is president of the American Defense Society.

In December, 1938, Dies could plausibly have feigned ignorance of the Coughlinite network. A year later he

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was still openly flirting with the same men and movements. By that time the testimony of witnesses before his own committee had established the anti-Semitic links of Zoll and Kelly; and by that time no G-man was needed to demonstrate their link with Hart. But in November, 1939, when Dies decided to launch a new self-promotion drive, he conceived a Madison Square Garden meeting in his own honor; and he chose Hart to direct the proceedings. Soliciting help from business men, Hart made clear that the initiative for the meeting had come from Dies, not himself.

Hart attended to all the details. The sponsoring committee which he assembled has a reminiscent look: it is a cross-section of those who served on Hart's pro-Franco committee—A. Hamilton Rice, Hildreth Meiere, Ogden Hammond, George Timone; and of the Christian Front's fellow-travelers—George Harvey, John Trevor, John B. Snow, and Robert Harriss (the last-named is Coughlin's long-time associate and author of his monetary program). Once again the members of the Christian Front provided the "mass base." Admitted to the balconies on free tickets, which they boasted they had obtained *en bloc*, they cheered wildly for every speaker except Jean Mathias, commander of the Jewish War Veterans, whose presence was an obvious concession to the amenities.

Dies delivered the principal address. Merwin K. Hart presided. In his book "America, Look at Spain," Hart had written: "American citizens may heed the clear lesson of Spain and draw their own conclusions as to the consequences if they permit state or federal statutes to curb their right to own and if need be to carry arms, to protect themselves against the Communist menace."

Less than two months after the Garden meeting, the FBI caught the Christian Front in possession of weapons alleged to have been stolen from National Guard armories.

I have not dwelt at length on the strong foreign allegiances of the men whose domestic "mass base" is the Front. Hart's services to the Franco regime are well known. The Dies committee exhaustively probed the pro-Loyalist agencies here; it never touched the pro-Franco agencies. This negligence was typical of the virtual whitewash it provided for rightist groups. Was the whitewash deliberate? Reproduced here is a letter, written two months after the Dies committee was set up, from William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts, to David Mayne, then his Washington agent. Note that in this letter Pelley boasts: "The conference verified belief that we may safely continue in the understanding that Dies will not go out of the way to call us or to embarrass us—True—Father Coughlin—George or the Legion." He obviously referred to the Silver Shirt Legion.

On July 26, 1939, Pelley, who had criticized Dies for taking pot shots at rightist groups, wrote to the same man:

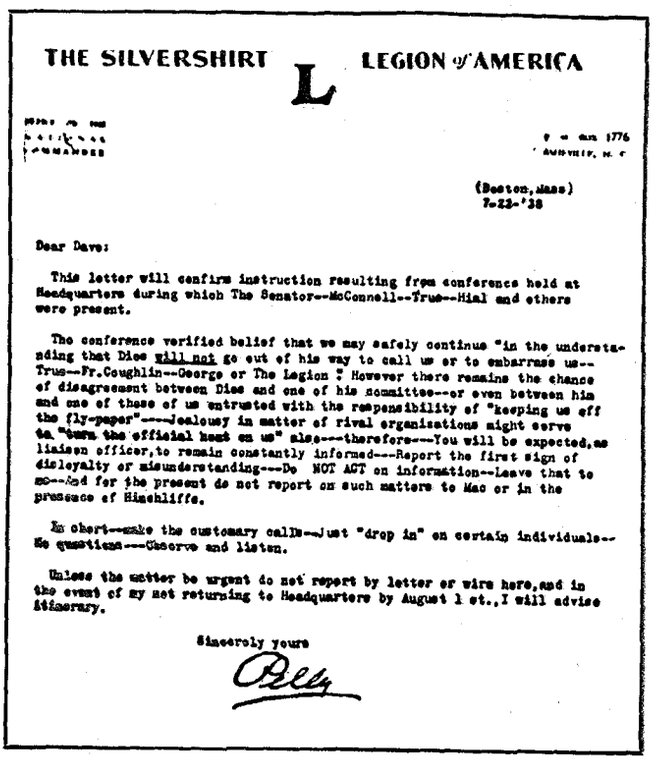
> As to the booklet [attacking Dies] which although caustic was not intended other than to create the general impression that there existed between Dies and myself a personal "gripe" sufficient to keep us apart from any form of cooperation . . . and was actually intended . . . to offset any rumors—in the event of suspicion—that he and I through mutual contacts have an understanding.
>
> Realizing that I owe him much—I want you to "contact" one close to him and advise—"that I covered the matter in a much too realistic manner—and will take proper steps in Texas among his and my friends to convince him of my appreciation and sincerity."

And as late as August 25, 1939, when the Dies committee was allegedly "getting" Pelley, the chief of the Silver Shirts wrote to Mayne:

> Recalling that there existed a gentleman's agreement I do not feel disturbed over the present state of affairs even though the sub-pena [*sic*] has been issued—however I trust you to make discreet calls ascertaining Martin's attitude and if I may *continue to depend* upon past advice to the effect that he would not require my presence unless forced to do so.

The Dies committee never found Pelley. Under insistent pressure it did publish some anti-Pelley evidence. It never summoned Coughlin or True; it did put Deatherage on the stand. Were these weak stabs at the right merely concessions to popular suspicion? Had there been a "gentleman's agreement" between Martin Dies and William Pelley, as these letters boast?

The chain of documentary and circumstantial evidence is beginning to emerge. But it is already clear enough to make mandatory a full and exhaustive investigation of the background, connections, and activities of Martin Dies.



THE SILVERSHIRT L LEGION of AMERICA

[illegible]

[illegible] 1776
[illegible]

(Boston, Mass)
7-23-'38

Dear Dave:

This letter will confirm instruction resulting from conference held at Headquarters during which The Senator--McConnell--True--Hial and others were present.

The conference verified belief that we may safely continue "in the understanding that Dies will not go out of his way to call us or to embarrass us--True--Fr.Coughlin--George or The Legion." However there remains the chance of disagreement between Dies and one of his committee--or even between him and one of these of us entrusted with the responsibility of "keeping us off the fly-paper"----Jealousy in matter of rival organizations might serve to "turn the official heat on us" also---therefore---You will be expected,as liaison officer,to remain constantly informed---Report the first sign of disloyalty or misunderstanding---Do NOT ACT on information--Leave that to me--And for the present do not report on such matters to Mac or in the presence of Hinchliffe.

In short--make the customary calls--Just "drop in" on certain individuals--No questions---Observe and listen.

Unless the matter be urgent do not report by letter or wire here,and in the event of my not returning to Headquarters by August 1 st.,I will advise itinerary.

Sincerely yours

Pelley

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Mass Murder in Poland

BY HOWARD DANIEL

> It is our duty to cleanse this land ruthlessly of all scoundrels, robbers, Poles, and Jews.—Albert Förster, Nazi leader of Danzig.

THE German occupation of conquered Poland is something quite different from the usual military occupation of a conquered country. Behind the hermetically sealed frontier the depopulation of vast areas which fall within the German *Lebensraum* is being carried out with characteristic German *Gründlichkeit*. It is *vae victis* again, a repetition of the laying waste of Italy by the barbarians, but with this difference: the Gauls who sacked Rome had no philosophy of killing and destruction, whereas the highest Nazi official in German Poland, Governor General Hans Frank, is the man who when Reich Commissar for Justice enunciated the famous doctrine *Recht ist was dem deutschen Volke nützt, Unrecht was ihm schadet*—anything that benefits the German people is justified. Evidently the annihilation of millions of Poles and Jews falls under this head.

There have been previous German administrations of Poland, but they were not like the present one. During the first World War when the Germans occupied Poland nothing happened to the population at large. Even the Jews were invited in the famous Yiddish letter of General Ludendorff—*"zu di Jidden in Paulen"*—to cooperate with the German administration. Of course the war had a serious effect on Polish life, but the invaders made no attempt to interfere with it fundamentally.

At the beginning of this present war a Polish buffer state was spoken of, but the idea was abandoned. Now it is plain that the Germans plan nothing less than the total destruction of Poland. In a recent speech to the House of Commons, Neville Chamberlain said that evidence considered by his government, checked by all the sources available, showed that the Nazis were carrying out "a policy of deliberate depopulation" with special emphasis on the liquidation of intellectuals. This tallies with an interesting report which has just come from Berlin. Secret instructions from the Gestapo, the real rulers of the conquered nation, to General von Rundstedt, one of the highest army commanders in Poland, reveal that a rate of 5 per cent per month has been set for the liquidation of the Polish intellectuals. An extensive campaign of sterilization is planned for 1941, in preparation for which a large force of S. S. medical specialists has already been sent into the country.

In carrying out their policy of destruction, the Germans have started with the easiest victims, the Jews. The persecution of Jews in the newly conquered territory is infinitely worse than in Greater Germany. As one eyewitness of both terrors puts it, "even the frightful events of last year's November pogroms in Germany are pale by comparison." In Germany the feelings of the great mass of the people have always been a strong brake on the brutality of the S. S. and the Gestapo. And in addition the presence of many foreigners in the Reich has had the effect of restricting the torturing and killing to the privacy of government buildings and concentration camps. But in Poland there has been no such brake, and the unrestrained violence of the Gestapo and the S. S. has ranged all the way from confiscation of property to murder.

It seems certain from the reports of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and other reputable welfare agencies working in and around Poland that at least 80 per cent of the 1,500,000 Jews in the German-occupied areas are completely dependent on public relief. The economic position of the greater part of the Polish Jews has for years been worse than that of Jews in other countries. Hundreds of thousands have not been able to meet their most urgent needs without assistance. After having been pauperized for years, they now face the alternative of emigration or extermination. The possibility of emigration is being used as a stick to beat a ransom in foreign currency out of them. At the present moment all the facts point to extermination. The "Black Book" to be published shortly by the Jewish World Congress estimates that the Jewish toll in dead since the second world war began amounts to no less than 250,000. If there is any inclination to regard Jewish reports as exaggerated, an account of the terror published in the Breslau *Schlesische Zeitung* will dispel it. The account is based on German police reports in the province of Lodz. It reads:

> A hundred Jews were executed because during the house-to-house search for arms many Jews offered resistance. Acting on a report which came to the police that Jews surrounded a synagogue in Lodz in order to prevent Germans entering, fire was opened on the Jews and hundreds of them were shot. . . . Jewish streets were blocked hermetically. Jews were strictly forbidden to approach the local peasants because it was alleged that they were obtaining milk, potatoes, and vegetables for hoarding. As there was a typhoid epidemic, Jews were permitted to consult Jewish doctors on condition that these doctors prepared their own medicines. In the town of Sieradz thirty-six Jews were shot because they had fired on German soldiers; ninety-one Jews were publicly

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> flogged because they had omitted to salute police officers in Pabianee. In the town of Kolo 217 Jews were publicly flogged because of a theft of provisions. Among the thieves were the town rabbi and thirteen of his scholars. . . . The work of the authorities was simplified because in some houses many Jews committed suicide before they could be arrested. In many houses the Jews resisted with iron rods and hatchets. More than 100 of these criminals were executed on the spot.

Some of the official German measures show clearly that the action against the Jews is part of a carefully calculated plan to remove them from most of the occupied area by creating conditions intolerable or impossible for human life. Jewish bank deposits must not exceed 2,000 zloty (formerly about $400). Anyone possessing more than this amount of money was ordered to give an inventory of all his possessions, including clothes and household goods, before January 19 on pain of extreme penalties. The clothes and household furnishings are for the Baltic Germans, who came into the conquered areas short of almost everything. Without a special permission which is either very expensive or impossible to obtain Jews are prohibited from buying shoes or clothes. On the flimsiest of excuses bank deposits are confiscated. Enormous levies and fines have been imposed on whole Jewish communities for crimes which the Gestapo alleges have been committed. Dr. Szoszkes, a well-known banker of Warsaw and a vice-president of the Warsaw Jewish Community who has just arrived in this country after escaping from Poland, reports that the Nazis extorted 12,000,000 zloty ($2,400,000) from the Warsaw community alone before he left. The much smaller community of Lublin had to raise 1,000,000 zloty at forty-eight hours' notice, half of this in gold and jewelry.

A recent order from the German administration in Cracow that all male Jews between sixteen and sixty will have to serve a period of forced labor, and the latest news about the Jewish reservation in the Lublin district indicate that male Jews who escape death will be herded in concentration camps so gigantic and brutal that Dachau and Buchenwald will seem like kindergartens by comparison.

Jews are forbidden to change their place of residence, and many streets are barred to them at all times. They are not permitted to be out of their houses—those who are lucky enough still to have a roof over their heads—between 9 p. m. and 5 a. m. without written permission from the police. The inhabitants of whole towns and villages have been driven out at thirty minutes' notice. Nominally they are permitted to take with them a few pounds of goods, but anyone who has had experience with the application of regulations by the Gestapo knows that it would be a lucky person who got away with more than he had on his back. The S. S. and Gestapo go out of their way to round up Jewish Laborites and Zionists, who are given special "treatment" or even killed outright.

In the train of war, starvation, and torture has come typhus. At the moment a typhus epidemic is raging in Warsaw, Lodz, and many other cities. It is hardly accurate to say that there are Jews still living in Poland. They are all dying, but for some the tempo is slower and more painful than for those who were dispatched in the market-places, falling into graves dug with their own hands. A plan to set up a ghetto in Warsaw where nearly four hundred thousand Jews would be confined in the space of a few city blocks appears to have been held up, probably because of the typhus epidemic and the fact that most of the buildings in the selected site were ruined by the bombardment. The reservation that is being created around Lublin, formerly a flourishing industrial city in East Poland, will be not only for Polish Jews but also for Jews from Greater Germany, especially from Austria and the Bohemian Protectorate.

Conditions in the no man's lands surrounding the German-occupied areas are little better. A representative of a welfare agency who recently visited the Suwalki district along the Lithuanian border writes:

> We found two children of about twelve years of age, fourteen women, and fifteen men. This was the third day they had been on the frontier in sub-freezing weather. Most of them were unable to talk coherently but kept screaming to us and crying to be taken away. I learned that each day they had been visited by German guards and searched to the skin again and again to make sure that they had not succeeded in hiding some money or valuables. One man with a bandaged leg had had the wound opened when the Germans ripped off the bandage to see whether he was hiding any money. With the aid of the peasants, some of whom I saw standing about crying while we talked with the refugees, they had built crude unroofed huts which offered some protection against wind but none against rain. One young woman had died during the night and her body lay on the field covered with a burlap bag.

Jews who lived in the Russian-occupied areas or who managed to escape there are better off. With the exception of a small number of upper-class factory owners and business men, the 1,500,000 Jews in what is now Russian territory have not been robbed of their property. While most of the government offices have been taken over by Ukrainians, several high positions have been filled by Polish Jewish Communists. Henryk Grünbaum, son of a well-known Jewish leader, has been appointed governor of Galicia. A Cracow lawyer, Droppner, has been appointed mayor of Lemberg. In small towns, it is reported, many Jewish non-Communists have been given government positions.

The Nazi authorities have encouraged the mass exodus to Russian territory, and at first the Russians did nothing to [illegible] an attempt has been made to prevent the number of immigrants

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is presenting a problem. With the exception of orthodox Jews and Zionists, whose activities are curtailed in Russia, the situation of the newly arrived Jewish population is, considering the circumstances, satisfactory. A case has come to my knowledge of a young Jew whose relatives had all his papers in order for his emigration to the United States. He has decided to stay in the Soviet Union, where a job as a skilled worker has been offered him.

The economic condition of the 100,000 Polish Jews scattered through Hungary, Rumania, Lithuania, and Latvia is almost hopeless, but at least they are outside the annihilation taking place in Poland.

The horror of Poland is not very different from the hell which is war. We are witnessing the execution of a cold-blooded plan to eliminate those "inferior races" unfortunate enough to dwell in that part of Europe marked by Hitler as German *Lebensraum*. The outcry of the whole civilized world was needed to stop the Turkish atrocities in Armenia. To remain silent now is to condone an unspeakable crime. There can be no neutrality toward this mass extermination.

Trade Treaties and "Realism"

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

OPPONENTS of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act pride themselves on what they like to call hard-headed realism. Most of them readily concede that Secretary Hull is motivated by sincere idealism. They will even admit the essential truth of his contention that the reciprocal pacts have checked the deterioration in international trade. But they insist that we dare not allow idealism or a sentimental interest in world trade to interfere with the legitimate interests of American business men and farmers. There has been just enough sentimentalism in the claims made for the Hull trade program to make these tactics effective.

The Administration has sought to meet the attack by presenting facts showing that the gains from the pacts have far outweighed the losses. This has not been difficult. Twenty-two agreements have been concluded, covering three-fifths of America's foreign trade. During the two years of 1937 and 1938 our exports to the countries with which we have trade agreements rose 61 per cent over the pre-trade-agreement period of 1934-35, whereas our exports to other countries gained only 38 per cent. Our imports from countries with trade agreements increased only 35 per cent in the same period, leaving the United States with a substantial net gain in exports. Our export surplus in 1938 was higher than in 1929, while that of 1939 was only slightly lower.

This would seem pretty conclusive evidence that the United States has not been taken for a ride. It suggests, on the contrary, that this country has taken advantage of its economic strength to drive some pretty sharp bargains. If, as now seems possible, we find ourselves possessed of nearly all the world's available gold supply in the not too distant future, we may wish we were not such sharp traders.

But that is not what troub[illegible]. They are concerned, they say, about th[illegible]ough, the strongest attacks on the trade agreements are being made today in his name—ironically, because farmers, more than any other group, have benefited by the pacts. Theirs is America's principal export industry, and they are therefore the chief beneficiaries of any increase in trade. Moreover, special attention has been given to farm products in the pacts thus far concluded. Countries which have made agreements have granted concessions on about three-fourths of the agricultural products they normally import from the United States. Included are tariff cuts on fresh meats, bacon, ham, lard, fruits, vegetables, and grain. Great Britain, the world's leading wheat market, removed its discriminatory duty on American wheat as part of the Anglo-American pact.

In contrast, the reductions granted by the United States on farm products entering this country have been negligible. Only 14 per cent of our total agricultural imports have been affected by tariff concessions granted under the trade pacts. Sugar alone accounts for almost half of this total. And the reduced duty on sugar has been largely offset by rigid quota restrictions. The only tariff cut on a farm product which opponents of the Hull program have been able to make much use of in their campaign has been the reduction in the duty on cattle in the Canadian agreement. But even here the facts are against the opposition. Instead of being ruined by the importation of 225,000 cattle a year, domestic cattle producers are receiving 60 cents a hundredweight more for cattle today than they were three years ago when the Canadian trade agreement went into effect. Moreover, they enjoy a larger portion of the home market than they did in 1929. Imports of farm products as a whole have risen substantially in the past few years, but the bulk of the increase has been in products not affected by the trade-agreement program. The increase may be attributed chiefly to the drought and enlarged domestic buying

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power. It has in no sense been harmful to American agriculture.

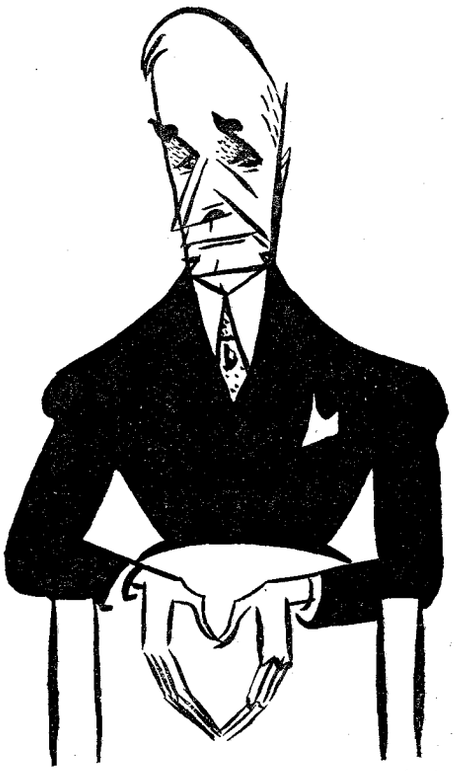
To the protectionist it seems incredible that the United States could make as many concessions as it has made in the twenty trade agreements still in effect—and extend these concessions under the most-favored-nation clause—without disrupting the American economy more than the facts seem to indicate is the case. That such a disruption has not occurred may be explained by the fact that most of the American concessions have been made on tariffs that had no real economic justification. Many of the concessions have been on commodities like manganese which the United States cannot produce in sufficient quantities for its own needs despite tariff protection. Others have been on special grades of commodities which differ basically from the grades produced in this country and are, in fact, non-competitive. Still other concessions, such as the cuts in the duties on sugar, cattle, and shoes, have been made in connection with quota limitations which amply protect the domestic producers. And not a few of the reductions have been on duties which were so high as to be prohibitive rather than protective.

Nor has the extension of American tariff concessions to other countries under the most-favored-nation clause had the disastrous effects predicted. This is due to the safeguards which the State Department has employed in applying the policy. Concessions are usually granted only on products or grades of which the negotiating country is the chief supplier. For example, the tariff reduction on cattle in the Canadian agreement was restricted to cattle weighing over 700 pounds, excluding the smaller Mexican breeds.

Facts such as have been cited indicate that the "realism" of the protectionist opposition to the Hull trade policy is hardly more than a combination of provincialism and ignorance. But there exists another type of realism which cannot be disposed of so easily. Among those opposed to the trade pacts is a small group which regards the Hull policy as a nostalgic attempt to restore a world economy based on the principles of laissez faire. In this view there is at least a germ of truth. A large measure of the support for the trade-agreement program has come from those whose economic philosophy found expression in the Van Zeeland and similar plans. Mr. Hull's own background is essentially that of a free trader, and there is no reason to believe that he has drastically modified his views. Laissez faire economics collapsed with the failure of the 1933 World Economic Conference. It can no longer be doubted that we are entering a period of increasing economic controls. It is fair to ask, therefore, whether the Hull trade policy can be reconciled with a realistic program of domestic planning. On the answer to that question, rather than on the price of cattle, should rest the true realist's attitude toward extension of the Trade Agreements Act.

In reply it should be emphasized that trade is important in any type of economy. The exchange of something you have in abundance for something you badly need is good sense and good economics under any system. An increase in trade is beneficial since it implies a more efficient use of a country's natural resources.

The reciprocal trade program provides a flexible ma-



Drawing by Eva Herrman

Secretary Hull

chinery for increasing trade which is adaptable either to planning or laissez faire. This flexibility is illustrated by the fact that the United States has been able to conclude a trade agreement with the Soviet Union as well as with Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. It is true that no agreements have been concluded with the fascist countries, but this is because of their refusal to accept the basic American principle of non-discrimination. The fascist conception of trade as a political weapon rather than a means of improving living standards is perhaps the controlling factor in their rejection of the most-favored-nation principle.

It is obvious that tariff bargaining is in no sense inconsistent with the flexibility which is essential in market-place economy. Yet it can just as readily be adapted to planning. Tariff-making is inevitably a form of economic control. The agency which determines the tariff rates is, whatever else it may be, a planning agency. For years these powers rested solely in Congress. And the experience of these years showed very clearly that a popularly elected body, subject to pressures of all types, is not a fit agency to assume this responsibility. Nearly all countries go farther than the United States in leaving the

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details of tariffs and quotas to administrative bodies. Only under these conditions can there be any hope that the commercial policy will be relatively free from the influences of special interests.

The weakest of Mr. Hull's arguments, from a realistic point of view, is the contention that his program affords the only lasting basis for peace. Again no one doubts Mr. Hull's sincerity. But the skeptic is to be pardoned if he fails to find that five years' experience with the trade-agreements program shows it to have made any measurable headway against economic nationalism or the other factors making for war. This is not so much a criticism of the Hull policy as of the arguments that have been offered in its defense. However, we should not allow the value of the policy to blind us to its very real limitations. The reciprocal trade program represents the one real effort made during the thirties to stem the tide of economic nationalism. If it has failed, a large share of the blame must be placed on the totalitarian powers. Yet some blame must also rest on the program itself. For, with all its merits, the reciprocal program is too limited in scope to compensate for the basic blunders in commercial policy made by the United States from 1919 to 1933.

Space does not permit a detailing of these blunders here, but in the main they sprang from a failure to recognize and adjust our policies to our changed position as a creditor country following the war. The situation was aggravated by the passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930, the collapse of the World Economic Conference in 1933, the passage in 1934 of the Johnson Act, forbidding loans to countries that have failed to meet former obligations, and the devaluation of the dollar in 1935. Contrasted with these powerful nationalist influences, the reciprocal trade program dwindles in significance. It has scarcely made a dent in our protective trade walls. It has not produced a passive trade balance, such as America's creditor position requires. On the contrary, as suggested above, the United States seems to have used its superior bargaining position to swell its export balance. The increasing hoard of gold at Fort Knox is silent testimony to the continued unsoundness of our policies, despite Mr. Hull's valiant efforts. He is doubtless as aware as anyone of the inadequacy of the agreements. But the Republican outcry against the minor concessions proposed in discussion of the Argentine pact is a striking demonstration of the obstacles which he faces.

Adjustment of our commercial policy to hard facts may be "unrealistic" to the Republicans. It may antagonize some voters, as Representative Treadway of Massachusetts suggests. But by greatly increasing trade it would provide jobs throughout the country, particularly in farm areas. And, if pursued vigorously, it might yet reverse the nationalistic tides which threaten to destroy the basis of international relationships. While the Hull trade program may be an imperfect weapon, it is the only one immediately available for the purpose. Therein may be found the realism of Mr. Hull.

Industrial Farming—Preview

BY ARTHUR EGGLESTON

San Francisco, January 12

FEW Congressional committees have ever stood, pencil in hand, taking notes on a social revolution. That, however, is what the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee is doing in California. It is taking notes on what is perhaps the most important change in national life since the era of small shops and small factories closed and great industrial and business empires took over. Farming as a way of life is going to smash under the impact of drought, depression, dust storms, and the great ribbed tires of the all-purpose farm tractor. It is going to smash under a burden of debt and insecurity, land exhaustion, and lack of credit. The California investigation offers a preview of what is going to happen to American farming and of what the change will mean in political, economic, and social life.

Disclosures made before the committee about violence and vigilantes in California's rural area, about strikes and the suppression of civil liberties with the connivance of local law-enforcement officials, have had sensational headlines. We have become familiar with similar ingredients of labor strife from the La Follette committee's exposure of the machinery of anti-unionism in Harlan County, Chicago, Cleveland, and other places. But new and ominous developments have been revealed by the California hearings—something more serious than interstate transportation of strike-breakers, the sale of industrial munitions, the use of labor spies and back-to-work movements, and refusals to bargain collectively. Evidence before the committee records the birth of a new era, an era in which the working farmer-owner is being replaced by "employer-growers who produce on factory pattern and hire and fire disorganized workers in the manner of industrialists." This new employment pattern has shattered the old relationship between farmer and hired man and as yet provided no satisfactory substitute. The effort

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to create one has lined up California's false-front, industry-financed farmer organizations against the labor movement.

The employer-growers are opposed to any attempt, even by the state or the federal government, to step in between them and the underprivileged class doing the farm labor. Testimony showed that they have refused to take part in any proceeding which would interfere with the unilateral fixing of wage scales and conditions of labor for migratory farm workers. Even impartial wage boards are fought. The announcement by representatives of agricultural industrialists at the Los Angeles hearings that they are willing to bargain with workers must be taken as the sign of a last-minute but probably not lasting repentance.

The changing economic conditions revealed by the investigation have reached their farthest development in California, but they are spreading over the whole country. Traditional patterns of land use are being broken and others substituted in Arizona, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, Washington, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida—on the Atlantic seaboard as well as in the cotton South and Southwest and the Corn Belt. Industrialized and mechanized agriculture, in conjunction with other forces, is making migratory farm workers out of farm-owners, tenants, and share-croppers. Dr. Paul S. Taylor, University of California economist, testifying before the La Follette committee, said: "Every American farmer who is in the path of those forces is potentially an agricultural laborer who some day may be forced to depend for sustenance on wages earned by working on the land of another."

In California an army of some 200,000 migratory farm workers exists "outside the general social, economic, and political life of the state." The problem of protecting their civil liberties, including their right to organize and bargain collectively, is a large one, as Governor Olson told the committee. They have no bargaining strength and not much prospect of acquiring it very soon. Disfranchised through inability to establish residence, they "lack the means of political retaliation for unfair or illegal treatment." Against them and against their efforts, as well as those of government, to better their condition stands one of the strongest and most militant employer organizations in the country, the Associated Farmers, whose principle is collective action by employers to prevent collective action by employees.

It has been disclosed to the committee that among the founders of the Associated Farmers and the heavy contributors to its funds were banks, railroads, public-utility corporations, major oil companies, cotton-seed-oil and ginning companies, metropolitan employer associations, can, box, and lumber companies, sugar refineries, canners, and processors. There wasn't a farmer in the lot, as that term is understood, when the Associated Farmers was brought into existence in 1934. The organization has received $178,542 from 1934 to the present time, and only 26 per cent of it came from rural areas. And this sum of $46,472, listed as from "county units of Associated Farmers" on the committee records, was not necessarily from farmers. The committee is now awaiting evidence which will show how much of it came from local units of the same big industries, from their corporate farms, gins, canneries, and packing houses.

The evidence about the make-up of the Associated Farmers is bound to have a tremendous effect in Congress and in states like Minnesota where the Associated Farmers of California hope to form units. Congress has been warned to be on its guard against lobbies "purporting to represent the farmers of California" when it studies proposals to eliminate farm laborers from social-security, labor-relations, wages-and-hours, and other social legislation. Such a warning was delivered to the La Follette committee by Governor Olson in person in the following words: "If you have occasion in the future to hear from lobbies of this character in Washington, I would suggest that you inquire closely concerning the type of farming interests that they represent in this state, and determine for your own satisfaction if you can whether or not these lobbies are maintained by actual farmers in California or by interests that masquerade as farmers." It was for this statement, as much as anything else, that the Associated Farmers in convention assembled a day or two later attacked Governor Olson and every single suggestion he had made for government measures to alleviate the condition of the migratory farm laborers. Yet it is important to note that they have not attacked the testimony about their financing.

Nor have they questioned the evidence that a sharp distinction must be made between the traditional working farmer-owner of America and the great corporate enterprises which carry on the large-scale industrial farming of California. As Dr. Taylor expressed it, "The recurrent conflict between employer and employee in the agricultural and processing industries of California and in areas of neighboring states where similar conditions prevail has been heralded widely as a conflict between 'embattled farmers' and 'farm laborers.' To describe the issue in these terms, however, is to mislead all who understand the words 'farmer' and 'farm laborer' as they commonly are used in other parts of the United States." Where is the hired man-farmer relationship, for example, between the employees and the management of the Balfour, Guthrie Company, a British-controlled firm and a member of Associated Farmers, which owns growing, processing, and packing facilities, works 5,800 acres, and had a pay roll in 1938 of about $300,000? Or of the gigantic DiGiorgio Corporation, worth $10,500,000 in 1938? The Earl Fruit Company, DiGiorgio's wholly-owned subsidiary, has land worth $5,500,000 and an

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irrigation system valued at over a million. This company also owns a winery that will produce 6,000,000 gallons a year and a 95 per cent interest in the Klamath Box Company. In 1939 it hired 5,220 farm workers at the peak of the season, and its pay rolls for the year were approximately $2,200,000. Its marketing outlets include the Baltimore Fruit Exchange, which it owns, an interest in a New York fruit exchange, and auctions in Chicago, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh.

Senator La Follette wanted to know about its labor policy. The answer was that it paid the prevailing wage rate in the area as a minimum. Had the corporation ever taken part in any collective bargaining with its workers? "No," was the answer, "we have found it was not necessary." Had the corporation, in any of its activities, had any agreements with labor organizations? Not to the witness's knowledge.

One of the two most determined strikes of agricultural workers that California has seen took place last year at the Earl Fruit Company ranch near Marysville. A number of pickets were arrested for violating one of those famous anti-picketing ordinances which the Associated Farmers have persuaded numerous county boards of supervisors to pass. Senator La Follette asked what was the purpose of the ordinance and what was permitted under it.

A. Its purpose was to preserve the peace and it permitted peaceful picketing.

Q. And what is your idea of peaceful picketing?

A. There isn't any such thing.

In Sutter County, where the Board of Supervisors submitted a similar ordinance to the county unit of the Associated Farmers for their approval before passing it, the sheriff had never read the law; he thought it allowed two men to picket but not three. These county ordinances as a rule ban all picketing inasmuch as they prohibit "one or more persons" from engaging in it.

When the inquiry swung to the violent Stockton cannery strike of 1937, it developed that union officials had told the sheriff they were ready to return to work and open the cannery if the specially mobilized deputies did not prevent them.

"In the face of this," said Senator La Follette, "you took no steps to stop the posse from forming?"

"They were already on the way," said the sheriff. "I couldn't reach them."

"You could have prevented them from forming."

"I thought the best thing to do was let them come in," was the reply.

The result was one of the bloodiest battles of the past several years. Industrial-munitions purchases in that county totaled $2,215; among them were 446 pick handles, 11 shotguns, 1,675 shotgun shells, 351 rounds of pistol ammunition, 12 rifles, 1,140 rounds of rifle ammunition, one tear-gas gun, and 104 rounds of tear-gas ammunition.

Their gross income, the value of their products, and their cash expenditures for hired labor show that the large agricultural employers control farming in California. Large-scale farms, that is, farms with an annual gross income of $30,000 or more, constitute only about 2 per cent of California's total farms, but they produce nearly 30 per cent, by value, of all agricultural produce, and they spend 35 per cent of all cash paid to agricultural workers. The demand of the employer-growers for complete control of wages is assigned as one of the chief causes of California's agricultural-labor conflicts, which are out of all proportion with those of the rest of the country. Each year more than a third of the nation's agricultural strikes occur in California.

There seems little chance that collective bargaining will take the place of the ex parte fixing of wages and conditions which is believed to underly so much of the trouble now. It certainly will not until agricultural labor is given the protection of the National Labor Relations Act. In the absence, too, of the protection given low-wage areas by the wage-and-hour law, the only solution, according to evidence before the committee, seems to be special wage boards, which will hold public hearings and fix wages under governmental authority wherever the employers are the recipients of federal benefit payments. The Congressional provision for public wage hearings under the Sugar Act in the sugar-beet industry has been cited as precedent. There has been no strife in the beet fields since the passage of this act, which provides that growers who accept benefits must pay the wages fixed by the Department of Agriculture after public hearings in the various sugar-beet areas. Governor Olson tried to make use of such hearings to head off the recent Madera cotton strike, which was the result of unilateral wage-fixing. Figures introduced into the evidence show that in 1938 federal agricultural conservation payments to 8,700 California growers totaled $3,356,361. Of this group, 204 members of the Associated Farmers received $1,107,544.

When the California hearings are over and the La Follette committee makes a report to Congress, the refusal of large growers to deal with their field-factory employees on a collective basis, the unprotected status of these workers, and the resulting disproportion of strife will probably call for remedial recommendations. Such recommendations must take into consideration the very legitimate fears of growers, brought out by several witnesses, that the perishability of their crops entitles them to some protection against the delays that may grow out of collective bargaining. It is doubtful, though, whether either the La Follette committee or Congress will pay much attention to the plea of Associated Farmers' representatives that everything would be lovely in California if it were not for Communists and agitators and the C. I. O.

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The Crime of Georges Bonnet

BY ROBERT DELL

IT IS usually wise to take with a grain of salt any information given out by the German government, but I am convinced of the authenticity of the information concerning Georges Bonnet reported from Berlin in the New York *Times* of January 17. The documents published by the German government, purporting to show that Bonnet just before the Franco-German peace declaration of December 6, 1938, indicated France's willingness to give Germany a clear way in Eastern Europe, confirm the information that I myself obtained in Paris last May. It is, however, impossible to subscribe to the German thesis that the change in French policy after March 15, 1939, was a betrayal of the Franco-German understanding of December 6, 1938. The German government betrayed that declaration and violated the Munich agreement by invading and annexing Bohemia and Moravia. Nor was the change in French policy due, as the German government pretends, to British influence. Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on March 15 is sufficient evidence of this, for he announced then that he had no intention of altering his policy. The change in French policy, like the change in British policy, was due to the pressure of public opinion.

Georges Bonnet remains a member of the government—although he is now Minister of Justice instead of Foreign Minister—probably because Daladier himself was so completely compromised that he dared not get rid of him. Starting July 28, 1939, *L'Ordre* published a series of articles by that very able journalist André Stibio, on The Past, Present, and Future of the Daladier Experience. Stibio said that it was to be regretted that Daladier had "established his power and gained his immense popularity by the most disastrous swindle at the expense of peace" (*la plus funeste escroquerie à la paix*), that is to say, the Munich agreement. What Stibio thought even less excusable than the signature of the agreement was Daladier's defense of it after he had signed it. He should, Stibio said, have frankly admitted that he had been wrong; told the French people the truth about Munich, and solemnly put an end to the policy of concessions, whereas he allowed his head to be turned by flattery and tried to justify a policy that he knew to have been disastrous. Munich was followed by "a sort of Franco-German honeymoon," by which "the mistrustful peasant, who calls himself a Jacobin," was taken in.

The German documents show how far the "honeymoon" went. They make it clear that, as nearly all well-informed people thought at the time, the Franco-German declaration of December 6, 1938, although innocuous in appearance, covered an understanding to give Germany a free hand in Eastern Europe. Before the declaration was signed, German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop appears to have made it plain to Bonnet that, to quote the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, "Germany regarded Eastern Europe as her own private sphere of interest and considered the French military alliances with Poland and the rump Czechoslovakia to be 'atavisms' that the new and powerful Germany could no longer accept." Bonnet signed in full knowledge of this attitude.

The documents published by the German government include reports, telegraphed to Berlin by the German ambassador to Paris, Count von Welczek, of various conversations that he had had with Bonnet. The remarks attributed to Bonnet in these reports are so characteristic of that gentleman that it is impossible to doubt their accuracy. On January 26, 1939, Bonnet made a speech in the Chamber in which he reaffirmed the interest of France in Eastern Europe and insisted on the maintenance of the alliance between France and Poland. According to the German ambassador, Bonnet read several passages of this speech to him before it was delivered and said that some of them were meant only for internal consumption and that France adhered "to her present policy on Eastern Europe," that is, the policy of giving Germany a free hand.

Naturally, the speech excited the wrath of von Ribbentrop, who instructed the German ambassador to protest against it on the ground that it would give Poland and Czechoslovakia the impression that France "was taking up again a policy of encirclement directed against the Reich." Bonnet, according to the German ambassador, denied this and said that in foreign-policy debates in the Chamber things were often said that obviously were only for internal consumption.

On February 6, 1939, Ribbentrop, according to the German documents, complained to Robert Coulondre, the French ambassador to Berlin, of Bonnet's speech on January 26. Coulondre replied that it was difficult for France to renounce Eastern Europe while making concessions in the Mediterranean, but that it would undertake no policy in Eastern Europe that would disturb Germany.

The Munich agreement provided for a guaranty by England, France, Germany, and Italy of the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia. In an article published in *The*

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Nation on October 22, 1938, I declared this guaranty to be "an insult added to injury" and "a piece of arrant hypocrisy." This was afterward proved to be true by the fact that the guaranty was never given even by England and France. The German documents provide further evidence that I was right. It appears from them that the question of the guaranty was discussed between Ribbentrop and Bonnet before the signature of the declaration of December 6, 1938. In the course of this conversation, according to the documents, Ribbentrop said that Germany would regard a French guaranty to Czechoslovakia as a form of intervention in Germany's sphere of interest. Bonnet gave him to understand that, although "France was forced by the pressure of events to foresee the possibility of guaranteeing the Czechoslovak frontiers," as the promise of the guaranty had been the price paid for the Czechoslovak renunciation of the Sudeten territory, France would in certain circumstances regard a four-power guaranty of the Czechoslovak frontiers "as an onerous remnant of the defunct French-Czech alliance that was of no particular importance."

The Franco-German "honeymoon" manifested itself in the secret negotiations early last year between influential groups of French and German industrialists and big business men, which had official approval in both countries. The French group proposed close commercial relations between France and Germany which would have amounted almost, if not quite, to a customs union. The proposal was aimed against England and would almost inevitably have led to a Franco-German alliance, although its authors disclaimed any political aims. Not to be outdone, Chamberlain sent a delegation of British industrialists to Berlin to conclude a commercial agreement. The events of March 15 put an end to both schemes.

One of the worst results of the "honeymoon" was the free hand given to German propaganda in France. When I returned to Paris in the middle of July German propaganda had made ravages on French opinion, and the Abetz scandal had made it clear that German money had been pouring into the country. Most people in Paris believed that Bonnet himself distributed the German funds to the French press, just as Poincaré distributed funds supplied by the Russian government before the last war. The scandal broke when the news-editor of the *Temps* and the business manager of the *Figaro* were arrested for receiving German money. The latter died in prison. A veil of secrecy was then drawn over the affair, and the public was given no further information. This was not surprising, for Abetz, the German agent involved, was on terms of friendship with Bonnet and his wife. He was finally called upon to leave France, and his attempt to get permission to return, although it had influential French support, was unsuccessful. When I arrived in Paris in the middle of July the morale of the French people had been seriously undermined, but, as has always happened, the menace of war united them, and when I left Paris for Geneva on August 28 their morale was splendid.

André Stibio said in the articles already mentioned that Daladier's conversion after March 15 was sincere and had been lasting, and his opinion was shared by others in a position to know and in whose judgment I have confidence. Nevertheless, it is not to the advantage of either England or France that the men responsible for the blunders that led to the present war should be still in office. At the least, Bonnet ought to go.

In the Wind

DURING THE recent West Coast deportation hearings on Harry Bridges, Examiner James M. Landis and Bridges never conversed outside the proceedings. One day, however, a Coast newspaper published pictures of Landis and Bridges with the captions reversed. The next morning Landis found a copy of the paper on his desk with this notation in Bridges's handwriting: "Look out—or you'll be deporting yourself."

THE ELKS LODGE of Cincinnati invited Martin Dies to address one of the meetings. Dies agreed, and the date was set for February 19. Now members of the lodge are threatening to withdraw the invitation because of the financial terms set by Dies's lecture agent. He proposed to assign 200 tickets to the Elks to sell for $2.50 each and retain 600 for himself to sell at $10, giving the Elks $2.50 on each and keeping the remainder except for a $500 fee to Dies. While the Elks are considering canceling the affair, the Cincinnati Business League is investigating the promotion methods of The Great Investigator's promoter.

OVER ITS story of the President's message to Congress the Chicago *Daily News* carried the banner headline: "Roosevelt Calls for Unity." Directly below appeared the picture of a woman; it was captioned "Unity Freeman-Mitford."

IN ITS DECEMBER 30 issue *Liberty* magazine carried an article by H. G. Wells on British war aims. In the article Wells sharply attacks Chamberlain. The Canadian edition of the weekly carried a box explaining that Mr. Wells's views "do not necessarily represent those of *Liberty's* editors."

ADVERTISEMENT IN a Berne, Switzerland, newspaper: "We are going to see the price of stone and marble rise. Take advantage of my very reasonable prices and give me your orders without delay. If you don't need a tombstone now for one of your family, order one for yourself. I will keep it without charge in my shop till the day when it can be used."

READER'S DIGEST recently ran this heading over an article: "Give 'Em Grade A." And directly below: "Condensed from *Fortune*."

[*Readers are invited to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

SOMEBODY asked me the other day what I would do in the matter of mediation in the present war if I were President of the United States. I replied that I would offer mediation on even Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and odd Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, with all Sundays thrown in for good measure. In other words, I favor continuing mediation. I should also, were I Mr. Roosevelt, immediately ask the Pope to join me in getting the heads of Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to sign a joint request to the belligerents that they once more state their peace terms, without recriminations and without self-laudation—just in the fewest words possible. It would then be possible to see whether they should be invited to send representatives to discuss, together with representatives of the neutral states, the question of a settlement.

I know that there will be strong dissent from some of those who read these words. I have had the reasons against such a move stated to me over and over again in Germany, Holland, England, and the United States. In London a high official thought the difficulties in the way of even formulating exact terms very great. I replied that I knew more difficulties than he did, because I had just been in Berlin and had heard the matter discussed there. But whatever the obstacles, right-minded men everywhere I went were of the opinion that one more effort should be made to see if the Allies and Hitler could not be brought together. The alternative is a knock-out blow inflicted by one side or the other, or a stalemate with all Europe going to pieces from economic and financial exhaustion. The fighters will lose nothing if the President makes this effort. They can go right on bombing and sinking ships and guarding both sides of the Rhine. If the effort comes to nothing, the military situation will not have been changed.

Naturally the first objection is, "But how in the world could you get Hitler to consider setting up small Polish and Czech states—no sane man believes that it would be possible or desirable to reconstitute the old Czechoslovakia, and Poland cannot be restored without a war with Russia?" To this my answer is that no man can foretell what Hitler will do, but that I am more than ever convinced that there is a split both in the German army and in the German Foreign Office and that considerable elements in both of them would like peace negotiations for various reasons. Hitler and his generals must also be aware of the total lack of enthusiasm for the war, even opposition to it, on the part of the bulk of their fellow-countrymen. The officer in the Frankfort tram who said openly one day, "Why, the spirit of the people in this city about the war is devastating. It is better at the front," revealed a great deal. I do not know whether those dissenting governmental and military forces, plus the attitude of the public, are sufficiently powerful to induce Hitler to consider terms which would be a profound humiliation and defeat for him. Nor does anyone else know. I am only urging that the method suggested above be resorted to in order to ascertain this.

More than that, I am convinced that if such an offer were made by the Pope, President Roosevelt, and the heads of the countries I have enumerated, it would not be possible for Hitler wholly to suppress the news of the move. If he did try to conceal it and it leaked into Germany, it would do him a tremendous amount of harm and increase the ill-will of the majority of his people toward him and the war. Similarly, I cannot think of any better anti-Hitler propaganda than to publicize his refusal to reply to an offer from such sources. The news would be bound to get into Germany and would immediately raise the question why he had taken this extraordinary attitude against such important mediators.

Of course much would depend upon how confident the pro-Hitler generals are that they will win the war next spring. Undoubtedly many military men and a great many civilian officials believe that they will win easily. The stake that Hitler and his gangsters are playing for is the domination of the European world. They may be willing to gamble their lives and the success of their party on the chance of rising to a height of power never before achieved in the history of Europe. On the other hand, if they lose they lose everything; they will be lucky if they get off with exile like that of the Kaiser at Doorn. That is the exact situation. The question each reader of these lines must decide for himself is whether he thinks that this statement of the case warrants one more effort being made before such blood-letting takes place that no further effort to stop the war will be possible until a knockout blow has been delivered or all Europe is completely finished. I hope that no reader will overlook the fact that Germany can no more be cleansed of Hitlerism and National Socialism by forces from the outside than it was purged of militarism by the Allies and the United States in 1918, when our joint efforts, plus the Treaty of Versailles and the inflation, produced a vastly more dangerous militarism than that of the Kaiser.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Telephone Company

A. T. & T.: THE STORY OF INDUSTRIAL CONQUEST. By N. R. Danielian. Vanguard Press. $3.75.

AMERICAN TEL & TEL: THE STORY OF A GREAT MONOPOLY. By Horace Coon. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.

UNTIL now the student of corporate business, its operation, financing, and regulation, has had relatively little information on the affairs of the giant of corporations, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. As a result of the Federal Communications Commission's recent investigation, there is now an abundance of data, which, though of public record, is far too technical and complex, and too inaccessible, to be of great service to any except specialists. A general summary has been sorely needed, and the two present volumes are designed to fill that want.

Of the two books, Dr. Danielian's is by far the better done and the more comprehensive; it bears the unmistakable marks of a skilled hand and an inquiring mind. Fortunately, the scope of the book is broad and the subject-matter well balanced; thus the treatment of the immediate problem of the control of the price of telephone service is not allowed to overshadow the less pressing but far more basic aspects of the A. T. and T. as an organization of economic and political importance. In readable fashion Dr. Danielian tells of the beginnings and growth of the Bell System of telephone service and of the course by which the control over the system was transferred from a group of small-time Bostonians to New Yorkers with plans for a nation-wide monopoly.

Dr. Danielian lays to rest the myth that the A. T. and T. is a "publicly owned" institution by virtue of the fact that its 18,662,275 shares were owned in 1935 by 664,095 stockholders, and that no single person held as much as 1 per cent of the total shares. These data do not accurately represent the situation, for 50.5 per cent of the total shares were held by 5.2 per cent of the stockholders, and 1,034 persons held 16.6 per cent of all shares. In contrast, small holders, with ten shares or less, comprised 57.5 per cent of all shareholders, but owned only 9.9 per cent of all shares. Thus, while it is true that telephone-company shares are somewhat more widely scattered than those of other corporations, nevertheless, the majority ownership is highly concentrated, and, as Dr. Danielian shows, control is lodged in the hands of a self-perpetuating management.

Every chapter of "A. T. & T." is illuminating and challenging. The much-publicized research activities of the A. T. and T. are carried on not only for the purpose of improving performance and advancing technical knowledge but also for the protection of the present domain of A. T. and T. from invasion by newcomers armed with patents upon new and competing techniques. Patents have played a large part in the struggles between A. T. and T., Radio Corporation of America, General Electric Company, and others for the control of communications, broadcasting, and motion pictures. From time to time, after tests of strength and considerable maneuvering, these contests have been settled by various private agreements to divide the contested field and thus to preserve monopoly.

The contrast between the telephone company's dividend policy and its treatment of workers is very telling. From 1929 to 1935 approximately 185,000 persons lost jobs in the Bell System (including the Western Electric Company), some because of change from the manual to the mechanical switching system, others as a result of the "speed-up" in pace of work, and still others because of the decline of traffic and the cessation of new construction. Yet while Bell System employment in 1935 was almost 40 per cent less than in 1929, dividend payments in the same period had increased. The far-famed $9 dividend was paid regularly. Total stock outstanding, on which dividends were paid, increased by 5,400,000 shares. From 1932 to 1935, inclusive, it was necessary to dip into surplus to pay dividends. Dr. Danielian is justly critical of the A. T. and T. policy of maintaining dividends and reducing employment and pay rolls, which, if followed everywhere, intensifies the disparities between rigid and flexible elements in the economic system, restricts expansion of investment and consumption, and increases economic instability.

Space is lacking to sketch even briefly the nature of the material in the remaining chapters. These include a damaging analysis of the Bell System's pension plan; a description of the way in which A. T. and T. benefited by federal operation during 1918; a vivid, and sometimes too detailed, account of the A. T. and T.'s attempts to mold the public mind and "sell" the system; a résumé of the behavior of telephone profits; a clear-cut summary of the problems involved in regulating the A. T. and T. as a public utility; and, finally, a suggestive chapter on political economics, which includes Dr. Danielian's specific recommendations for control of the A. T. and T.

A work of this kind is bound to be controversial, more as to interpretations of facts and conclusions than as to the facts themselves. Dr. Danielian hits hard, but, it seems to the present reviewer, fairly. The A. T. and T. may feel aggrieved at being singled out for special attention and analysis, when, in some respects, it has a cleaner record than that of many other large corporations. Yet it cannot hope to escape the attention that it richly deserves, for as a modern super-corporation its functioning presents clearly and insistently the major issues in the social control of business. Certainly whoever is interested in the origins, development, behavior, and consequences of modern business enterprise will welcome Dr. Danielian's able, suggestive, and penetrating treatment.

Mr. Coon's book suffers by comparison with that of Dr. Danielian. It stresses the earlier history of the A. T. and T. and skimps on the analysis of the behavior of the full-grown system. It may be of value to the reader who looks for a rapidly moving narrative, enlivened by the "color" of personalities and not too burdened with evidence and proof. But it is far too superficial to be of great use to the serious student of economics.

HUBERT F. HAVLIK

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"Without Architect or Plan"

REVOLUTION IN LAND. By Charles Abrams. Harper and Brothers. $3.

OF ALL our myriad social and economic headaches, the land problem is undoubtedly the one that has received the least attention during recent decades. Although theorists, politicians, and special interests, as well as local and federal government, have busied themselves with closely related problems, such as conservation, housing, zoning, erosion, no one since Henry George has tried to deal with the land problem as a whole. No one, that is, before Charles Abrams, former counsel to the New York City Housing Authority, wrote "Revolution in Land."

In fact, "Revolution in Land" bites off far more than Henry George ever tried to chew. It attempts to trace the economic evolution of land from feudalism to monopoly capitalism. It tries to analyze the farm problem *in toto,* as well as the New Deal's farm program. It surveys the position of land in economic thought. It dissects the construction industry. It analyzes mortgage financing and real-property taxation. It traces the course of federal land policies and federal housing policies. It asks for an integrated, long-range approach to the problem.

Unfortunately, the reader is sometimes forced to question whether Charles Abrams has not also bitten off more than he can chew. His approach is so all-embracing that at certain points in the book the author could have devoted an entire chapter to the astronomical problem of land in motion without causing much surprise to the average reader. But the difficulty, essentially, is not that too much has been bitten off, but that there has been too little chewing. There is often a disconcerting vagueness in terminology, too great a shying away from basic problems, and too little constructive criticism.

Yet despite these faults—or perhaps because of them—the book is what can be unreservedly classed as "stimulating reading." First of all, it raises a myriad pressing questions. Moreover, it minces no words in showing the necessity for a coordinated policy of urban and rural zoning, federal land purchase, federal housing, and federal farm aid.

> In no case are the expenditures [writes Abrams, referring to government housing programs] part of a permanent working program. In no case are fundamental changes of any kind contemplated. FSA has developed a few farms for selected tenants. USHA has undertaken a small housing program for urban wage-earners. Farmers have been subsidized. Bank deposits have been guaranteed. Old home mortgages have been refinanced. New home mortgages are being insured. Yet as a whole these measures utterly lack integration. We have simply underpinned, here and there, as cracks appeared in the walls that support almost the whole economic structure. We have done it without architect or plan. . . . Perhaps this has been possible because we were reluctant to think through the whole complex and difficult problem, and we were very quick to assume, on the slightest of all possible evidence, that somehow the weakness in the land economy would disappear and all would be well again with those involved with it.

Furthermore, the book presents a striking, albeit oversimplified, picture of the evolution of land. In earlier centuries land was a dominant economic and political force. Today, says Abrams, its former position has been lost; it is the slave of industry. On the one hand, industry has triumphed over agriculture. On the other, once the early period of speculation was over, it refused to invest even in urban land; there was more liquidity, more profits, in railroads, automobiles, and steel. And to make matters worse, the declining rate of population growth means that there will always be an oversupply of land and that land values will never rise. Accordingly, if nationalization of land becomes absolutely necessary, it will not be because of the excess profits that Henry George thought the inevitable result of private property in land but for "the opposite reason that land today yields excess losses."

Finally, an enthusiastic word must be said for the style in which the book is written. Abrams's prose is beautifully rhythmic—at times almost Spenglerian, although lighter and more concise. Few books dealing with economic problems can compare with it in liveliness and fluidity of expression. For this reason alone—if not for the book's ambitious scope—it deserves a place of honor upon the bookshelves of the serious reader.

BERTRAM M. GROSS

New Life into Old Forms

THE CONNECTICUT RIVER AND OTHER POEMS. By Reuel Denney. Yale University Press. $2.

THIS is the most brilliant first book of poems to appear since "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," but whereas Mr. Schwartz unevenly gyrated on the plains of heaven between the gods of form and meaning, Mr. Denney always keeps at least one foot on the ground. The result is less spectacular, certainly. Mr. Denney attempts no ambitious syntheses of Aristotle, Marx, and Freud. Nor does he achieve any of the originalities of rhythm or symbol that made Mr. Schwartz's book an experimental landmark. He does, however, through a quiet conjunction of acute hearing and clear thinking, achieve both a style that is his own and a uniform record of successful communication that in the serious poets of the post-Auden generation is unique.

Mr. Denney's title poem is a sort of social "Bateau Ivre," owing something to Crane and Spender as well as to Rimbaud, sifting the heritage of New England with more discrimination than is usual, rejecting the generation that "brought the fans but not the hold-stench home," accepting entirely only

> Our bride . . . the river in the valley
> And all the hills around that did not die
> When father moved his office into death . . .

Mr. Denney, like every true poet, can write in the traditional forms. Even the "anapaestic" comes to life, and sometimes he blows so much new life into old forms that they bulge. Though always moderately, he uses Hopkins's device of spinning a line out suddenly with extra syllables like a whip. Boldly and successfully he fuses the unexpected Elizabethan words—encysted, signet, perfect—with the contemporary. The Iroquois "packed a wicked arrow." The Hammer-Thrower, in the finest poem about an athlete I have seen, is "golden-jointed and new-eyed." And symbolically as well, the past is used to illuminate the present: "The old men rake the leaves. The thin skies hone the spire."

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We would recognize in Mr. Denney an "intellectual" poet without being reminded that he teaches English in Buffalo and heads a City Planning Association. The miracle is that while he never discards his learning he is never encumbered by it. The secret of this is that Mr. Denney is looking for life rather than knowledge. The search is illuminated by the knowledge, and when the poet says, "Call all the birds of Audubon!" the reader moves forward toward the bird rather than backward into the book.

> Science is what the world is, earth and water.
> And what its seasons do. And what space fountained it.
> It is forges hidden underground. It is the dawn's slow salvo.
> It is the closed retort. *And it is not yet.*

The italics are mine. SELDEN RODMAN

Californiana

NAVAL SKETCHES OF THE WAR IN CALIFORNIA. By Gunner William H. Meyers. Designed and printed by the Grabhorn Press. Random House. $25.

SELDOM in one book has historical and typographical interest been more arrestingly combined than in "Naval Sketches of the War in California," by Gunner William H. Meyers. The portfolio of sketches was acquired by President Roosevelt some years ago, and this volume of reproductions was undertaken because of his recognition of their rare historical value. In an introduction Mr. Roosevelt gives some, but not all, of the reasons for the annexation of California, which was decided on just after the outbreak of the Mexican War, and recalls the real danger of violation of the Monroe Doctrine by certain European powers which were casting greedy eyes on California, where revolt against Mexico simmered. This foreword is followed by a detailed account of the campaign by Captain D. N. Knox. His narrative explains the sketches.

Of chief interest, however, are the quaint water colors, executed with delightful naivete by the young artist-gunner. With a genuine flair for landscape, he sketched the barren, desolate harbors along the coast from California to Panama. Ships too must have fascinated him, for his picture of his own sloop of war, "the good ship Dale," and of other naval vessels are done with meticulous attention to detail and sometimes with real beauty.

Spirited sketches of naval bombardments showing the loading and firing of cannon give amusing glimpses of old-time techniques. And in numerous battle scenes on land the diminutive warriors, for all their occasional woodenness, have a comical, sprightly life, particularly the Mexicans in their multicolored uniforms. Horses, too, share the emotions of their riders, sometimes rearing and prancing, sometimes hunched in abject misery, or, again, scuttling ignominiously out of danger.

The colored reproductions, done by means of linoleum cuts, are a new departure in the work of the Grabhorn Press and will delight amateurs of fine printing. For the historian, these eyewitness sketches of half-forgotten battles by sea and land, whose results were of such vital importance to our national development, throw new light upon a hitherto obscure phase of American expansion. RUTH PIELKOVA

The American Negro Family

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES. By E. Franklin Frazier. University of Chicago Press. $3.

THE Negro family has many characteristics which make it a special problem in the study of American institutions. In desertion and illegitimacy rates, in the role of father and mother within the family and the attitudes of collateral relatives, as well as in other aspects, it is found to differ from the general American pattern. The Negro family thus offers a twofold challenge to students; one methodological, the other historical.

Professor Frazier paints his subject on a large canvas, but this in no wise impairs his attention to detail. The book is both extremely well organized and engagingly written; not the least ingredient of its charm is the almost Biblical terminology of the titles given its parts and chapters.

The first part of the book treats of the Negro family during the period of slavery. The development of the post-Civil War family is next discussed—the adjustments that had to be made by the newly freed Negroes, and the importance during this period of the Negro mother and grandmother. The development toward the conventional type of American family with the father as its acknowledged head is then described. The account of the effect of the great northward migration on Negro family ties is a distressing tale of disorganization and desertion; the contemporary situation, considered in the final section, *In the City of Rebirth*, shows how the initial clash between the older established families and the aggressive newcomers is working out. No better presentation of the *mores* of Negro middle-class life is to be found anywhere, while the discussion of the black proletariat shows a fine grasp of the situation in which the Negro worker is caught.

Mr. Frazier takes it for granted in his discussion, however, that all African patterns have been completely forgotten, and that only the tradition of slavery remains as background:

> Probably never before in history has a people been so nearly completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America. Other conquered races have continued to worship their household gods within the intimate circle of their kinsmen. But American slavery destroyed household gods and dissolved the bonds of sympathy and affection between men of the same blood and household . . . of the habits and customs as well as the hopes and fears that connected the life of their forebears in Africa, nothing remains.

From this starting-point further assumptions follow. "The family" has valid meaning only as it signifies the accepted pattern of white family organization; "morality" is morality solely in terms of the values of the white American majority.

Yet, one must ask, does not this position attempt the logically almost impossible task of proving a negative; and does it not deny the pluralistic nature of social phenomena? We are told that Africanisms persisted in the West Indies. Was the situation in the United States so different?

It is not possible in the space of this review to document the answers to these queries. Yet, as one case in point, one may well wonder whether the facts of Negro life under slavery are sufficient of themselves, without reference to

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African custom, to explain the importance of the mother in the Negro family. For the regions of Africa from which the slaves were drawn not only contain many cultures in which descent is counted on the mother's side, but exhibit the attitudes engendered by a type of family organization based on a man having a number of wives. In such an organization, while a child shares his father with the children of other women, he shares his mother only with his "real" brothers and sisters. One must ask if such traditions and attitudes have not been reinforced by the situation of slavery rather than suppressed.

Professor Frazier, it is to be feared, has not ranged as widely over the materials dealing with African social organization as he has over data on the American Negro family, and the day has gone by when the problem of Africanisms in New World Negro life can be discussed without an adequate command of African ethnology. With such equipment he would realize that his account of a Negro family reunion could with a few changes in wording be placed before almost any Africanist as a satisfactory generalized description of the ancestral rite of an aboriginal African group. Yet this American Negro family comprises persons who hold higher degrees, and is one of those "black puritan" groups which Mr. Frazier cites as an important force in acculturating Negro family life to general white patterns.

While this book, therefore, is a major source of facts concerning the present organization of the Negro family in this country, its historical interpretations must be regarded with some skepticism. Yet it must be stressed that in taking his uncompromising interpretative stand, Mr. Frazier does a service by bringing to the fore the issue of the African background of American Negro life. For this is one of the most vital elements in the psychological foundation of race prejudice in the United States, just as it is the most important single factor in the spiritual demoralization that comes to many Negroes from their deep-seated conviction, which I believe is a false one, that they have no past except in slavery.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

War-torn China

CHINA AT WAR. By Freda Utley. The John Day Company. $3.75.

"HUMANE ENDEAVOR": THE STORY OF THE CHINA WAR. By Haldore Hanson. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

CHINA'S misfortunes in the past few years have conferred one indirect benefit on the outside world. For the first time we have been given, not one or two good books on that distant land, but a whole series of them as experienced correspondents have journeyed through the country and put their findings to paper. Miss Utley's volume is distinctly a war book. It portrays the horror, the suffering, the inefficiency, and the idealism of a China fighting against great odds. It is primarily a factual account of day-to-day events as the author traveled from Canton to Hankow, and thence to the front. The closing chapters contain a brief review of recent political developments and an evaluation of China's prospects for victory. The author has great sympathy for the Chinese, and her adventures, like those of anyone who visits China today, make absorbing reading. Old China hands may find many of her observations a little obvious, but for those who do not know China intimately her account will be definitely more readable and instructive than the esoteric books of persons long resident in China.

Although fundamentally the same type of book, Mr. Hanson's volume is much more substantial. Mr. Hanson, an Associated Press correspondent in Peiping, lived in China from 1934 until last spring. Few other correspondents have visited as many sections of the war front. He was in Peiping when the war started, having just returned from an extended trip to the Yangtze Valley. He was the first American to visit Paotingfu after the capture of that city, and was arrested for his zeal. Afterwards he penetrated the Japanese lines and covered nearly all of the Eighth Route Army's zone of operations. After a visit to the mecca of modern China—Yenan—he spent three months in southwestern China visiting Chiang Kai-shek's base of operations. On the basis of this unparallelled experience, Mr. Hanson has written the most complete of all the recent books on China and one of the most interesting. The chapters on the guerrillas are particularly fascinating. No foreigner except the Snows and Agnes Smedley have spent so long a time with the Eighth Route Army, and Hanson's material is by far the most up-to-date available on the Communists. Although not as politically astute as some observers, he is an excellent reporter. One does not need to accept his rather uncritical picture of the central government or the Eighth Route Army in order to profit from his experience and reportorial ability.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Shorter Notices

J. PIERPONT MORGAN: AN INTIMATE PORTRAIT. By Herbert L. Satterlee. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

This biography of the elder Morgan is by Pa's son-in-law, who explains in an introduction that "no book, magazine article, or newspaper story about Mr. Morgan has heretofore been written with his permission or with that of his family, *and none has had their approval.*" The italics are ours. It need hardly be added that Mr. Satterlee does not regard the banker as a robber baron. The biography is curiously bucolic in tone: "In December (1891) Mr. Morgan's old railroad enemy Jay Gould passed away, and E. H. Harriman was the only man left who antagonized him in the transportation world." This is the domestic view. Father must not be antagonized. The government was constantly annoying him: "It was while he was kept at home with a bad cold that the United States government brought suit to dissolve the Steel Corporation." When Junior worked his way up from the bottom of the ladder, there was rejoicing. "On January 1, 1892, Jack was admitted to partnership in Drexel, Morgan and Company . . . and it was a proud and happy day for both father and son." He was a religious man, and his great wealth did not embarrass him in the performance of his duties as a parishioner: "Mr. Morgan attended the morning service at St. George's as

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usual, joined in the singing of the carols, and passed the plate." Mr. Satterlee writes that "people who are not familiar with the history of business in the United States during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century may wonder why, in this portrait of Mr. Morgan, only casual mention is made of the large purchases and sales of securities . . . which passed over his desk during those interesting years." After getting to know Mr. Satterlee better, we do not wonder.

ENGLAND'S MONEY LORDS. By Simon Haxey. Harrison-Hilton Books. $2.50.

Simon Haxey has carried out an elaborate and useful piece of research which proves all too well the unpleasant amount of truth contained in that favorite fascist epithet—"plutodemocracy." The British House of Commons has long contained a majority of Tories who, in addition to representing their constituencies, are members of and agents for a small and narrow class. As this book shows, in the achievement of the position of Tory M. P. brains and eloquence are of much less importance than cash and connections. Tory local organizations expect a candidate to pay his own heavy expenses and contribute generously to the local funds. As a result the average Tory M. P. is the son of well-to-do parents, educated at one of the great "public schools" and at Oxford or Cambridge. If not a business executive, he is likely to be a landowner, a military or naval officer, or a practitioner of one of the more lucrative professions. Either directly or by marriage he is probably related to a titled family. He is a director of one or more great corporations, has an income around $40,000, and can expect to leave a fortune of nearly $1,000,000. He has a town and a country house, belongs to an exclusive club, and is a devotee of hunting, fishing, shooting, or golf.

This composite portrait is built up from the facts and figures provided by this book. They include a fascinating diagram showing the relation of members of Parliament to a small group of aristocratic families, and an analysis of business interests indicating that almost all leading British corporations have their Parliamentary spokesman. This may account for the fact that the cruder forms of corruption are much less prevalent in Britain than in this country.

MUSIC

COLUMBIA'S January records being late, I will go on for the time being with the subject of opera. And what I would like to point out first is that on this as on other musical subjects discussion continues to be carried on in the terms of certain ideas no matter how many times these ideas are shown to have no basis in fact. In the case of opera one of the ideas is concerned with the effect of government subsidy: repeatedly one encounters the statement that the greatness of the Vienna Opera, among others, was one that could be achieved only by a subsidized company which was able to ignore the box office, and that the defects of the Metropolitan's repertory and productions during the Gatti regime, on the other hand, were due to the fact that it had to pay its own way—which it did by giving popular operas, by giving more performances than could be kept up to a high standard, by merely throwing together, under these mass-production conditions, performances with a few popular stars.

This statement is based on a wrong notion of the purpose and the effect of the Vienna Opera's subsidy. Whether it came out of the emperor's pocket or out of the republic's treasury, its purpose was not to make the management indifferent to what happened at the box office, but to cover the deficit that was inevitable under prices scaled to make the performances accessible to persons of small incomes. At that point the difference between Vienna and New York ends; from that point on they are alike: like the Metropolitan directors the Austrian emperor or government expected seats to be sold and performances to be given that would cause the seats to be bought.

But the similarity goes farther. You may have read the New York *Times* correspondent's reports of the defects in the Vienna Opera's repertory and productions during the last years of the Austrian republic—among other things the performances thrown together with a few popular stars. From my own seven months' experience in Vienna in the winter of 1928-29 I can testify that these reports were correct—that many of the performances were as poor as those that were to be heard at that time at the Metropolitan. And it may seem at first that they were poor for the same reason—that the Vienna company, too, had to attract audiences with popular stars in popular operas, and that it operated under even worse mass-production conditions, since it had to give performances seven days a week not for twenty-four weeks but for ten months of the year, and to work during the remaining two months at the Salzburg Festival.

But the fact is that under the same working conditions the Vienna company had a period of extraordinary brilliance early in the century—the period on which its fame and the current views about subsidized opera rest. And if under the same conditions the results were different—if repertory, singing, staging, and all the rest added up to productions that are still talked about today—the reason was solely in the fact that the artistic director of the company was Gustav Mahler, with all this meant in taste and personal force. The decline to the 1928-29 level began with Mahler's departure; but even in 1928-29 I heard several performances of memorable quality in Vienna—those conducted by Richard Strauss. Mahler went to the Metropolitan; and the fact is that there were great productions there also in the early years of the Gatti regime—those which represented the taste and authority of Mahler and Toscanini; that it was the absence of such taste and authority that brought the Metropolitan to the low level of the later years; that only with their return will the productions acquire distinction once more. As yet they have not returned; and the situation is like the one in a European Foreign Office, where the ministers who come and go count for less than the permanent undersecretary who remains: Mr. Johnson has been able to renovate the orchestra and restore a few important works to the repertory; but Messrs. Ziegler and Lewis, who have remained from the Gatti period, keep the Metropolitan today essentially what it was then.

Mozart's Mass in C minor received its first New York performance from the Schola Cantorum, which pointed out "the

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unfortunate fact that even recognized choral masterpieces, if difficult, are heard very infrequently in New York," and that Beethoven's Missa Solemnis, for example, "has been given on only four occasions in the last twenty years." The C minor Mass has some extraordinarily beautiful sections and a few passages of great power, but I think W. J. Turner goes too far in ranking it with the Missa Solemnis and Bach's B minor Mass: I don't think it reaches the spiritual heights of the one or has the sustained constructive power of the other. Its companion work is rather Verdi's Requiem.

B. H. HAGGIN

DANCE

The Dances of Mexico

ODOR of roses and excrement . . . a shower of sparkling fireworks, the flash of white teeth in a brown face, gleaming *granadas* piled high under ancient colonnades, copper pots reflecting the sunlight . . . a pockmarked six-year-old selling lottery tickets with a grim insistence. Pottery the color of soft, rich earth, hand-loomed textiles in brilliant shades, and tawny leatherware mingle with the sleazy rayons in ice-cream colors, glass jewelry, and second-hand hardware —rusty screws and nails cast off like scum from the great industrialized world. An ulcerous hand drips pus into tortillas. Files of silent Indians drive loaded burros before them, their women following with downcast eyes. Exchange of goods and of talk, splashes of laughter in seas of silence. Heaps of refuse where hungry dogs pick their food . . . corners where drunkards sleep, where women pick up their skirts to squat, where a man whispers to a girl, where an agrarian leader outlines his plans to a few trusted men . . . soft voices, sharp haggling, the twang of a guitar, the tolling of a bell. Red roses, calla lilies, and sky-blue paper flowers on a gold-leaf altar. A peasant chases his wandering sow out of the church. And as the steady beat of the drum grows louder, a single flute enunciates its theme. The dancers, fantastically attired in masks, wearing elaborate costumes and headdresses, have begun an ancient dance, weaving through the streets of the town till they come to the atrium of the church, where they will dance throughout the day and night. Sweetness and sweat of fiesta.

Some place in Mexico it's always fiesta time. Each village celebrates the day of its patron saint with a fair, festivities, fireworks, church services, and dances. These religious celebrations provide an excellent opportunity to study the indigenous dances of the country. Many of the dances now performed on a Catholic saint's day are modified primitive rituals that were offered to Aztec gods in the days before the Conquest. When the Spaniards conquered Mexico with the sword and the cross, thousands of converted Indians built Catholic churches which they decorated with primitive carvings. On some of these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century buildings one finds, on either tower, the symbol of the two pagan deities, the Sun and the Moon. The ritual dance performed today in honor of a Christian saint is as strange a

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compound of paganism and Catholicism as the church on which its shadow falls.

Spanish civilization has, of course, been a dominant force in Mexican life and, consequently, in the Mexican dance. Three other influences, though of infinitely lesser impact, must also be noted: the French, the Negro, and more recently the American. The French influence, which was introduced in the mid-nineteenth century, was of brief duration, and since the forms of national aesthetic expression had already crystallized, effected few changes. These appear mostly in the furniture and architecture of urban homes of the middle and upper classes and in the literature produced by these same groups. In the dance, modifications are shown in costuming and in the introduction of French soldiers in some of the religious war dances and carnival dances. The Negro influence is visible in Vera Cruz and Oaxaca, where it has slightly affected some of the social dances, such as the *danzon*. Along the Costa Chica and inland from the Pacific there are Negro colonies which have never mixed with the native population. Here a variety of totemic dances of African origin can be seen. But owing to the isolation of these communities, they constitute a special type which has not contributed to or been affected by the general stream of the Mexican dance. The American influence is really that of modern industrial civilization, which arrived in Mexico with American capital. As yet it has not radically altered the life of the nation, though specific localities have undergone tremendous changes and almost all localities have undergone slight changes. In the dance this influence is even slighter than in social and economic life, though it exists in the jazz of a brass band accompanying a religious dance, in the gawdy rayon of a costume, and in the fox trot, pronounced "fawx," which has invaded some of the remotest villages. But the sum of the impact of all three cultures is as nothing compared to the deep infiltration and wide distribution of the Spanish culture, much of which still exists in the arrested form imposed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Throughout the centuries that have intervened between the Conquest and the present day, the Indian has responded to the Spanish culture in a number of unvarying modes. In some instances he has refused to function in the new civilization and has retained old habits and customs in a virtually unchanged state, yielding only an exacted surface obedience to the new masters. In other instances he has eagerly accepted the foreign patterns, incorporating them with established primitive forms which he still follows. Here the Spanish elements serve as an enhancement and decoration for what is still a basically Indian design for living. In other cases the eagerness to accept Spanish ways has been so great that the old has completely given way to the new, and only a few ineradicable hints of the pre-Conquest days remain, like the tenacious thorns of a cactus. In still other cases the Indian and Spanish cultures have interfused and mingled so harmoniously as to destroy the salient characteristics of each in the evolution of a new type. The resultant genre is neither Indian nor Spanish but typically Mexican.

The first three attitudes can be clearly seen in the ritual dances that take place during fiestas. The occasion for their performance is generally a Catholic celebration, but often the dances themselves have no connection with the Catholic tradition. There is good reason to believe that the "Volador," performed during Holy Week, is a sacrificial rite connected with an agricultural deity. When I witnessed it in the sierra of Puebla last spring, I asked some of the villagers why they did the dance. They answered that they had to perform it to insure good crops. Yet the ostensible occasion for the dance is the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Actually the dance has nothing to do with the Christian religion. It is a highly dangerous and spectacular ritual in which the participants dance in turn on a two-foot platform placed fifty feet above the ground on the upper extremity of a slender pole. After this, suspended by ropes attached to their bodies, they fly head first through the air in ever-widening circles until they reach the ground. Very often one or more of the performers never complete the dance but fall from the pole and are hurled to their death either before or during the flight. Despite government discouragement and actual pfohibition, the dance persists. This is in large part because of a belief in its magic properties. From a description of the "Volador" written by an early Spanish chronicler one can see that it has hardly altered since the sixteenth century. Thus it provides an excellent example of the first attitude, the retention of primitivism. In this case the only influence of the new culture is found in the performance of the dance during Easter.

The dance of the "Moors and Christians" is an instance of the second attitude, which, while incorporating Spanish characteristics, subordinates them to the Indian elements. An Indian rhythm and dance concept triumph over a theme and costume that are distinctly Spanish. The dance originated in the "Moresque," which was extremely popular in Europe during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and which dealt with a sword combat between Moors and Christians. In adapting it the Indians have identified themselves with the conquerors, and have become the champions of the church against the heathen. In some versions lengthy dialogues in formal Spanish verse occur. A manuscript in my possession taken down in Chilpancingo, Guerrero, extends to thirty-five typewritten pages. In other versions there is no talking at all. Sometimes the dance consists of continuous mock skirmishes with flashing swords. At other times it is performed on horseback. In the execution of the dance the Indian element in rhythm and movement is dominant. Though the subject matter is Spanish, it is used decoratively in much the same fashion as a story is used by the European classic ballet as an excuse for a dance, as a thread on which to hang the movement.

The "King's Dance" exemplifies the third attitude, in which Spanish characteristics dominate. This is shown in its rhythm, manners, and quality of movement, although the dance does not appear to be an adaptation of any known Spanish dance. Its origin cannot be traced, but it seems to be a dance of some antiquity created by the inhabitants of the New World in complete harmony with the Spanish modes. Its psychological origins probably lie in the Indian's desire to emulate his conquerors. In the pointed toe work and air of would-be elegance it is unmistakably Spanish of the eighteenth century. It is mincing and courtly in its every gesture despite the occasional interpolation of Indian elements, which in this case appear more as gaucheries than as distinct attributes.

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All the Mexican ritual dances can be considered as expressions of one of these three attitudes, exhibited in varying degrees: unmixed Indian, further classifiable according to region; Indian elements dominant, Spanish subordinate; Spanish elements dominant, Indian subordinate. These categories are not rigid. There are an infinite number of variations within the groupings; not all the dances of the second and third categories exhibit racial dominance in equal degrees or in similar ways. There are dances all along the scale, and at the central point the division of dominance is equal. Often it is the never completely reliable testimony of the senses that will designate a dance as a member of one rather than of another classification. Neither subject matter, costuming, nor musical instruments have been used as a basis for differentiation, though they are useful and highly suggestive as indications. It is the rhythm, choreographic plan, and type of movement which have served as the basic criteria.

The fourth attitude, which occurs in the very midpoint of the scale, where Spanish and Indian characteristics meet with equal force, is expressed in a large but homogeneous group of social dances. These mestizo dances of regional character originated some time after the Conquest and are performed at social gatherings, fairs, fiestas, weddings. The possible origin of the "Huapango," the most widely distributed of the group, is in the Spanish Fandango, which was popular in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the Mexican wooing dances, as in the Fandango, the partners never touch each other though they dance in pairs or in two facing lines. The rhythm is maintained, as in many of the Spanish dances, by stamping feet. Yet the rhythm itself is distinctly not Spanish. It is also distinctly not Indian. It is Mexican as is no other dance or music of the country. It represents the most striking manifestation of cultural interfusion in the dance. Though the dances are lively and spirited, they lack Spanish sensualism. They bear the imprint of the Indian's restraint and quietness. The purely Spanish dance combines two elements—a sustained languorous movement interrupted by sudden, staccato gestures. But the Mexican social dance exhibits neither of these qualities as opposing entities. It is a more moderate dance in which these two elements modify rather than contrast with each other. In some of the Mexican dances, as in the woman's part of the "Sandunga," dignity prevails, and the movement is gliding. In the man's part of the "Sandunga" and in the man's and woman's parts of the "Jarabe," there is a constant broken movement. The abrupt hold and sustained gesture of the Spanish dance have merged into a gay, continuous stamping trot, the characteristic feature of the Mexican social dance.

The Mexican dances express, in concrete form, a basic national problem, the conflicts and adjustments of two races and civilizations inhabiting a single land. The various ways in which it has been and is being resolved in the dances are the same four methods of adjustment which can be seen operating in every activity of national life. VIRGINIA MISHNUN

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Letters to the Editors

The Sick Railroads

Dear Sirs: The health of our railroads is of vital importance to the country. One-third of them—more than 76,000 of their 238,000 miles of track—are in bankruptcy. Their outstanding capital of almost 20 billion dollars is woefully shrunken. Almost 6 billions of investments are tied up in the bankrupt roads. The ICC has reported that in 1938 American railroads carried one and a half billion tons of freight; their passengers traveled some 22 billion miles; the wages of nearly a million employees amounted to not much less than 2 billion dollars.

Many of these roads have remained in the toils of bankruptcy despite federal statutes of 1933 and 1935 enacted to revive them. For this, economic conditions rather than the courts or the ICC are perhaps responsible. It is, however, widely recognized that the double-barreled jurisdiction of the courts and the ICC as created by those laws is unsound in principle and has failed in practice.

To remedy the situation both Senate and House in 1939 proposed far-reaching new laws which will doubtless be debated during this session of Congress. The Senate plans a new special Railroad Court. The opponents of this idea argue that such a court would open the way for mining, oil, and motor courts, on down to a court for delicatessen stores. Thoughtful men look on such a system as a blow at the American conception of the relation of our federal judiciary to the state.

The efforts of the House follow closely the pattern of the industrial-reorganization act of 1937-38 enacted under the lead of Congressman Walter Chandler and of William O. Douglas, then chairman of the SEC, now Justice of the Supreme Court. They would create functions for the ICC similar to those created by the Chandler Act for the SEC in respect of industrial reorganization.

The extensive investigations which Mr. Douglas conducted convinced the SEC that industrial reorganizations were dominated by insiders—old management, bankers, underwriters, and the like. The main feature of the Chandler reorganization statute was its constitution of the SEC as a body, not of coordinate jurisdiction with, but of advisory service to, the courts and also to the security holders. Thus the vice of double-barreled jurisdiction, similar to that embodied in the railroad-reorganization statutes, was removed, yet the service of an expert governmental agency was assured to give impartial advice to the court and all parties in interest. The Chandler Act also assured a fair and equal opportunity for small interests as well as large to have a genuine voice in reorganizations.

We note, then, that two sharply conflicting theories of railroad legislation are to be laid before Congress. These will probably be the subject of wide debate.

There is one unfortunate point of agreement between the two new proposals. Both have taken from the 1935 railroad statute a series of provisions giving the ICC and the courts strict control over committees of security holders—going so far indeed as to provide fine and imprisonment for wrongdoers—yet at the same time expressly reserving full freedom to the large interests to act together, namely, "groups of not more than twenty-five bona fide holders of securities or claims or groups of mutual institutions."

How will the public welfare be affected by such restrictions upon the free formation and activity of the characteristic independent committees of the past, while full freedom of action is granted to small powerful groups? Will railroad reorganization as carried out under either the Senate or the House proposals be dominated by the huge insurance companies? Is such domination desirable? Is it in line with that "democratization" which has been assured to industrial reorganizations? These are questions of no little moment.

JAMES N. ROSENBERG

New York, January 19

Nature's Miracles in Finland

Dear Sirs: Isn't nature wonderful! Her works as reported in official and unofficial dispatches from Helsinki reveal extraordinary power and variety. For example, she appears to have given the intense cold of northern Finland a selective quality: it freezes Russians stiff, but leaves Finns untouched. Then, too, missiles fired from rifles and cannon easily penetrate Muscovite bodies, but fall harmless at the feet of Finns. It must be so, because, by Helsinki reports, something like half a million Soviet soldiers have been "annihilated" without a single Finnish soldier being killed or wounded. A new mathematics comes into being, sub-zero like the temperature, when more Russian soldiers are killed than there were on the entire front. Yesterday, in Arctic air, I saw a Russ who wasn't there.

Even light does not act according to the usual laws. To the human eye it exposes Russian soldiers as ragged, hungry, gloveless, and freezing. To the Russian camera it shows them heavily clothed, with felt boots and thick gloves and a captured supply wagon disgorging a big supply of black bread.

This peculiar operation of natural laws in Finland seems forceful enough to project its influence across the seas by a kind of radio wave which softens the brains of newspaper editors, so that they believe anything that's told them. Not a skeptical voice is heard. Nine Finns kill 700 Russians; 38 Finns exterminate a division of 18,000.

The Russian armies have been thwarted in their first operations and in some sectors thrown back with heavy losses. From stupidity or overconfidence or enthusiasm they have made a military mess of it by outrunning their supply. But because the Russians have been stupid is there any reason why we should be simpletons and believe every fantastic tale that is told? H. G. P.

Washington, January 19

Hallett Abend's Travels

Dear Sirs: Maxwell Stewart, in your issue of November 11, reviewed my latest book with sympathy and understanding, but criticized the way I run my job here as New York *Times* correspondent.

"Failure to bestir himself out of Shanghai into the interior of China," was his expression. I have been out here for nearly fourteen years, and I am certain no foreign correspondent has traveled as far as I have in that time. Except for Sinkiang, Thibet, and Kweichow, there is no province that I have not visited many times. My expense accounts in the New York offices of the *Times* will attest this boast, as will a review of the date lines of my cables and mail stories.

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Before this war broke out I maintained sub-correspondents, full-time men, in Peking, Nanking, Hankow, and at one time I also had a full-time man in Manchuria. Part-time men are now in Hongkong and Hankow, in addition to full-time men in Peking and in Chungking. All of these men work entirely under the direction of this office. With a "set-up" of this kind it would be easy for me to stay in Shanghai month in and month out, and to count upon the reports of my scattered staff, but this I have never done. At least twice annually I visit and inspect our sub-offices, and also make excursions into the surrounding territories.

I think that those who censure me for a supposed failure to "bestir myself out of Shanghai" do so because they are disappointed that when I do go to the interior I do not take along rose-colored glasses. HALLETT ABEND

Shanghai, December 12

Note of Praise

Dear Sirs: Louis Fischer's first article on Soviet Russia Today, in *The Nation* of December 30, is to me the first logical, sensible, informative explanation of why Joe and Adolf got together.

I also think you were quite right to rebuke Sheen for his funeral oration on Heywood Broun. His conduct was utterly and unjustifiably shameful. I am glad you collected a few of Broun's best gems and reprinted them.

T. SWANN HARDING

Falls Church, Va., January 3

Mr. Meehan to You

Dear Sirs: Having been an attentive reader of the 149 volumes of *The Nation,* I note on page 27 of No. 1, Vol. 150, in a letter to the editor from H. Rutledge Southworth, this reference to myself: "Let me cite my authority, *Father* Thomas F. Meehan who wrote in *America,* June 24, 1939, etc., etc." (Italics mine.)

Now I began my newspaper work in this town in November, 1873, and have been laboring under the delusion that I carefully concealed its intent and purpose—you know, Jesuit in disguise, etc.; or to quote the pertinent old *Punch* saga:

> They both belong to the Society.
> I can tell a Jesuit by his look
> Half cunning and half piety
> Disraeli has it and my cook

It has gone along without question until Mr. Southworth tears off the disguise and reveals me in Holy Orders. I take it amiss though. It must have been professional jealousy that prompted him to keep the fact hidden until this week. If it had been disclosed a few days earlier I am sure I would have been rewarded for all these years of loyal service by one of the vacant archbishoprics of Chicago or Milwaukee.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN

New York, January 14

Correction

Dear Sirs: An error was made in your contributors' column in the issue of January 13, which carried my article, Twilight of the Chain Gang. I am working on the prison-labor problem under the New Deal and not on the "convict lease system." As I say in the article, the convict lease system was abolished finally in 1927.

WALTER WILSON

East Chatham, N. Y., January 18

Protection of Foreign Born

Dear Sirs: I am writing to invite the support of readers of *The Nation* for a work which I am certain will meet with their approval.

You must be aware that the existence of the war in Europe has intensified the efforts of demagogic alien-baiters who seek to destroy our rights as Americans behind the subterfuge of attacking the so-called alien. Because I am anxious to do my part in helping to defeat this attack upon American democracy, I have agreed to serve as co-chairman of the Committee of 100 Sponsors for the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Dr. William Allen Neilson, president emeritus of Smith College, is serving with me. An important undertaking of the conference is to prevent the passage of any of the seventy "anti-alien" bills in Congress. These undemocratic proposals for deportation of non-citizens, for concentration camps, for registration and finger-printing are a menace to the continued existence of American democracy.

In preparing for this important conference, the committee is handicapped by an extremely limited budget. Contributions are urgently needed if the work is to be carried on. They may be addressed to me at Pre-Conference Headquarters, Suite 1505, 79 Fifth Avenue, New York.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY

New York, January 10

German Communists

Dear Sirs: In his second article on Soviet Russia, in *The Nation* of January 6, Louis Fischer wrote: "German Communists are returning from Russia to Germany under a promise of immunity."

Mr. Fischer does not substantiate that assertion, and I wonder whether he can. According to my knowledge, numerous former Communists and Socialist workers have been arrested in Germany since the outbreak of the war, and there are more Communists in prisons and concentration camps than ever before. Their lot has not improved as a result of the Hitler-Stalin pact. On the contrary, those Germans who formerly worked for the Communist Party have to fear the closer cooperation of the secret state police in both countries against any kind of internal opposition, and therefore also against German Communists who do not subscribe to the totalitarian rule of Hitler or Stalin. HANS BERG

New York, January 20

CONTRIBUTORS

HOWARD DANIEL is an Australian who after the 1938 pogrom in Germany went to Central Europe to work on refugee problems.

ARTHUR EGGLESTON, labor columnist for the San Francisco *Chronicle,* was cited in *The Nation's* Honor Roll for 1940.

ROBERT DELL, distinguished English journalist, regards France as his "second country."

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INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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Birthday Greetings

[*Next month* The Nation *will celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary, and we have already received many messages of congratulation and comment. We are grateful for these greetings—even the critical ones—and plan to print as many as we can find space for in the next few issues.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

HARRY HOPKINS
Secretary of Commerce

Although the editorial viewpoint of *The Nation* has not always coincided with mine, nevertheless I have found your publication a stimulating habit for many years. Its broad, liberal approach is particularly refreshing during these tumultuous days that are upon us now.

UPTON SINCLAIR

The Nation has come to my desk fifty-two times a year for I cannot remember how long, but it must be over thirty years. That represents fifteen hundred issues, "all different and no two alike," as we used to say when I was a boy. I have thought different thoughts about each one. I have found myself in agreement with *The Nation* much more in recent years than I used to be, and I have always found information and interest. To those who have kept it going all these years I owe a sincere tribute of thanks.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
Vice-Chairman of the TVA

Under its present editors *The Nation* each week is demonstrating that intensity of feeling need not be synonymous with dogma and intolerance, and that idealism need not beget self-righteousness or lack of humor. *The Nation* may find the second seventy-five years the hardest, but they will undoubtedly be no less useful ones.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

I got aboard *The Nation* in the middle eighties as a student in the University of Kansas. It was recommended by the head of the English Department in that far day to students in English as a model of dialectic and controversial writing. I was amazed as a boy from a little country town to know that such a point of view as that which *The Nation* held could be maintained, for I was a deep-dyed conservative. But gradually *The Nation* got me. The first paper I subscribed for after coming to Emporia and buying the *Gazette* was *The Nation*. And it has been a thorn in the flesh ever since. I and my kind have needed it and I think it has done its job well. I may be called a lifetime subscriber and such as I am, "Well, you made me what I am today, I hope you're satisfied"—I know of nothing less complimentary I can say to you on this great birthday.

JOHN M. COFFEE
Representative from Washington

I congratulate *The Nation* upon having achieved seventy-five years of life. Its longevity in these hectic days of short-lived periodicals should be an encouragement to all liberals throughout America. Its championship of unpopular causes, of humble groups and citizens, its fearless portrayal of international events, its depiction of the progressive issues confronting the nation, its literary tone and quality have all endeared it to the intellectual liberals of America. May it continue on the course to ever greater prestige and influence!

I have not always agreed with *The Nation's* editorial policy, or with its opinions, but on the whole I have found my reactions coincide with it. Regardless of one's agreement with editorial opinions, no fair-minded observer can fail to accord to *The Nation* an accolade of hearty appreciation for its provocative and challenging articles, its debunking researches, its laying of hands upon hallowed arks of the covenant, its refusal to be cowed by tradition, and its unwillingness to be intimidated by the "sacred cows" of modern life. May its shadow never grow less and may its influence expand! We need colorful publications of the character of *The Nation* in the United States. We suffer from a paucity of such literary deflaters of pomposity.

The Nation readily discerns the feet of clay possessed by tory strutting statesmen. It keenly penetrates through the camouflage with which certain superpatriotic persons and groups surround themselves. It blows aside the aura of sacrosanct respectability which too often befogs the judgment and heart of Casper Milquetoast liberals. May your tribe increase!

CULBERT L. OLSON
Governor of California

The long and checkered history of American journalism has had at least one bright and steady beacon of truth, integrity, and liberalism for the past seventy-five years in *The Nation*.

I read *The Nation* with interest and with profit during the many years when Mr. Villard was its editor and mainstay; and I have read it with equal interest and profit during its present editorship. *The Nation's* numerous articles on the California scene have evoked much comment out here; and I believe I am right in saying that the influence of the magazine upon public opinion has been a real factor in making possible our present progressive Democratic administration.

CAREY McWILLIAMS
Commissioner of Immigration and Housing of California

I began to read *The Nation* while I was in college (1922-27), and I have been a consistent and diligent reader from those years on to the present time. I doubt if I have neglected many issues during the last twelve years, as I usually manage to go through each number pretty thoroughly. This should be some indication of my opinion of *The Nation*. I think that those of us who live in the West have a peculiar and special affection for *The Nation* because of the fact that the local press, as in Los Angeles, has always been so atrociously bad from every point of view. *The Nation* may be important to liberals and progressives in the East, but it is vital to those who reside in this land of sunshine among the kind of county sheriffs that Senator La Follette has been quizzing so effectively for the past ten days. Here on the West Coast *The Nation* has been a real influence. If I may say so, I think the magazine showed marked improvement during the period when Max Lerner was on the staff—a steadier and more consistent approach, less emphasis on indignation and greater stress on political realities, and a willingness to gamble now and then on developments which might at first have given rise to theoretical misgivings. If you ever need any copies of past issues, let me know; I think I have most of them on file.

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